16.

THE SWEDISH INTELLIGENCER.

The first part.

WHEREIN,

OVT OF THE TRVEST

And choyſeſt Informations, are the *famous Actions of that warlike Prince* Hiſtorically led along: from his Majeſties firſt entring into the EMPIRE, vntill his great Victory over the Generall TILLY, at the Battell of *Leipſich.*

The times and places of every Action being ſo ſufficiently obſerved and deſcribed; that the Reader may finde both Truth and Reaſon in it.

LONDON.
Printed for *Nath: Butter* and *Nicolas Bourne.*
1632.

¶ The Contents and Methode of the whole.

I. *A Diſcourſe vpon the Dyet of* Ratisbone: *which Dyet, bred the Diſcontents of the* Proteſtants; *and enforced them to the Concluſions of* Leipſich.

II. *The Dyet of the* Proteſtant Princes *of* Leipſich: *and their Reſolutions and Actions vpon it: Hiſtorically led along, vnto the day of their joyning with the King of* Sweden.

III. *A briefe Chronicle of the King of* Swedens *Actions, from his firſt landing in* Germany, *vntill his great Victory over* Tilly.

IIII. *The Proceedings of Monſieur* Tilly, *Generall of the Catholike League, by himſelfe; from his firſt comming againſt the King, vntill his great defeate before* Leipſich.

¶ THE PREFACE
TO THE READER.



VDicious and favourable Reader. Out of our high reſpect vnto that *Cæſar* and *Alexander* of our times, that admirably victorious King of *Sweden*: wee haue here (and for thy pleaſure too) adventured vpon an Eſſay of his Story; which if liked, may encourage vs to continue it. Not out of any confidence, that ours is a Chronicle worthy enough, for ſuch heroick performances (a *Polibius*, or a *Tacitus* were little enough for that) but our intention chiefly is, to provoke ſome abler Pen, ſome better inſtructed Intelligencer, to doe it: and if ſuch a one con-

troll or mend vs, wee will not be angry. If you here demaund, out of what Inſtructions wee haue furniſht our *Intelligencer*; be pleaſed to know; that nothing is willingly feigned, or wilfully falſified. The errors that be in it, are errors of ignorance, all. Some part of it was received from the papers of an honourable perſonage; a Commaunder of prime credit and activitie, with that victorious King. Wee haue beene made to vnderſtand much of theſe Actions, by diſcourſe with another gallant Gentleman: and he alſo a great Commaunder in the Army. Some printed *High Dutch* bookes wee haue had. For ſome things we haue had private writing, and from good hands too. In other things we haue made vſe of *Gallobelgicus*: eſpecially where he deales vpon publick Record, and where we thought the poore man durſt ſpeake freely: Some times, ſure, he writes but by Commiſſion; and is every where ſparing in reporting the Emperours loſſes. And yet in this, to take away all exception, we haue followed him too; notwithſtanding wee by others found greater numbers and defeates, ſpecified. Very good

vſe

vſe haue wee made of the *Weekely Currantoes* too: which if a man of judgement reades, he ſhall for the moſt part finde (eſpecially of latter times) very true, and very punctuall. Whoſoever will be cunning in the *Topography* of *Germany*, and would vnderſtand theſe warres, let him not deſpiſe *Currantoes*. All this, laſtly hath paſſed the allowance of a Gentleman (of the beſt judgement and intelligence for theſe matters) in the Kingdome.

Wee haue every where dealt candidely, not magnifying the King, nor derogating from his enemies: not left out, or put in, for favour or advantage. Our methode is this: to handle every Story by it ſelfe, and then to bring all together at the day of Battell. Carefull haue we beene, (yea no ſmall paines haue we taken;) to note the times and to deſcribe the places of the moſt famous actions. We haue examined the dates with diligẽce; and ſtill had fiue Maps before vs of the ſame place. The *Imperiall Dyet* of *Ratisbone*, w^ch^ was well hoped would haue mended all, leaving things farre more deſperate on the *Proteſtants* partie; neceſſitated a Reſolution in the Prin-

ces

ces of that Confeſſion; rather to dye free, then to liue ſlaues. Hence their *Dyet* of *Leipſich*. And becauſe theſe Leaguers were at firſt of an Vnion by themſelues; we haue briefly therefore, and vpon the Bye, firſt handled their warlike preparations; vntill the day of their joyning with the King. The ſame haue we done with the Kings Story: gone along with it from his Majeſties firſt landing. The Kings having of many Armies in the field at once, troubled vs not a little at the firſt, to finde with which of all theſe Armyes the King in perſon ſhould be: but wee after a while perceived, that this moſt induſtrious Chieftaine, was able to ſerve more Cures at once then one: and that he was ſo vigilant vpon every occaſion, that there were few great Actions which himſelfe was not at one end of. Many a brave Generall he hath; The Lord *Oxenſterne*, a *Sweden* borne, and Lord Chancellor of that Kingdome; Generall all this while of a particular Army in *Pruſſia*, to waite vpon the *Pole*, and his motions: The Lord *Falkenburg*, a *Germane* borne, and Lord Chamberlayn of his Majeſties houſhold; vnfortunately ſlaine in *Magdenburg*. The Lord

Guſtavus

Guſtavus Horne, a *Finlander*: and ſtill Generall of a particular Army by himſelfe: with whom the Lord Marqueſſe *Hamilton* is aſſociated. The Lord *Otho Todt*, for brevities ſake call'd *Otty-todt*, or *Todt*, a *Swede*, Generall of his Majeſties Horſe; Sir *Iohn Bannier*, a *Germane*, and a braue Souldier, Generall of the Foote or Infantery: all theſe you finde frequent and honorable mention of; and yet hath the King himſelfe beene at the moſt of the buſineſſe. All particular actions it had beene impoſſible for vs to haue toucht vpon; therefore haue we endevored to relate the famouſeſt: whether Sieges, Battels, Marches, Encampings, or Removings: orderly leading all along vnto the great day of battell. It would haue perplexed our methode to haue mentioned every particular ſupply that the King hath had: thoſe therefore wee deſire the Readers to imagine. For example: he landed but 11. Regiments or thouſands of Foote at firſt: yet within a moneth was his Army full 20000. ſtrong: which daily increaſed alſo.

His numbers, indeede, were never great: he had but 5000. men, for the moſt part, and

never aboue 7000. in all his late warres of *Pruſsia* againſt the *Pole*: and yet with them hath he fought ſeverall Battels, beaten out, or wearied out, two *Imperiall* Armies; taken in the great and ſtrong Citie of *Elbing*, with others: and obtained his purpoſe finally, vpon his enemy; who was able at once to haue come downe with ſuch a power of Horſe vpon him, as had beene ſufficient to haue carryed away himſelfe and fiue ſuch Armies. That which hath made his Majeſtie ſo victorious, (next to the aſſiſtance of Almightie God,) is his moſt exact obſerving of military Diſcipline; wherein with an admirable temper, he is both ſtrict and ſweete: the Majeſtie of a King in him, commanding more willing obedience from his Army, then the awfull directions of a bare Generall alone, poſſibly could. Adde to his ſtrict Diſcipline, his many poynts of new invented Diſcipline, peculiar vnto himſelfe, too long here to deſcribe. His juſtice, finally, and his mercy; his exemplary and his indefatigable induſtry: his affabilitie, and his eaſineſſe of acceſſe: the goodneſſe of his cauſe, and the common Libertie which his victories bring

with

with them: haue conquered more then his ſword. What now ſhall hinder this braue and princely Warriour, to arriue vnto that height of reputation which *Gonſalvo* did in the warres of *Naples*; whom the Hiſtorians of that age, worthily ſtile, *the great Captaine*? yea ſo great a Conquerour hath the King hitherto beene, that I dare challenge the skilfulleſt Hiſtorian, to ſet (for all particulars) ſuch another by him. God bleſſe the King of *Swedens* Majeſtie: and thoroughly enable him, to be the glorious *Aſſertor* of the *Germane* Libertie. *Vale*.

If the Readers deſire the continuance of our Relations: our Intelligencer *ſhall be much the better furniſhed to giue Content, if they pleaſe to ſend vs in their owne Intelligence*.

For that it ſeemes impoſſible for vs Engliſh *to auoyde that obſeruation of* Philip de Commines, That in all great actions, wee are ſtill harkning after Prophecies; *which the taking of ſome things in this kinde, hath even now verified: wee will therefore feede the humor of the times a little, with a* Prediction *of a great Aſtronomer of our owne Nation, vpon that great* Conjunction *of* Saturne *and*

Iupiter, *July* 18. 1623. *And the second a* Prophecy *of the famous* Paulus Grebnerus *his Booke, now in* Trinitie Colledge *in* Cambridge.

The Astronomers judgement is this. That the effect of that Conjunction *would be felt in the North and Northeast parts of* Europe *in particular: and in generall over all. That it would produce Famines, Plagues, Warres, &c. Places subiect to this, he nameth* Italy, France, Bohemia, Silesia, *and* Germany. *Of Provinces he nameth* Prussia, Brandenburg, Stiria, Hassia, *and* Saxony. *Yea he descends to Cities: naming* Rome, Prague, Magdenburg, Coblents *betwixt* Mentz *and* Cullen, Vlmes, Brunswick, Ausburg, &c. *He sayes it is likely to goe hard with the* Romane *Empire, Clergie, and* Iesuites. *He speakes of a King of a true Religion that should doe all this: and of much happinesse that should succeede it. The whole Discourse will perchance shortly be imprinted.*

PROPHETIA IN LEONEM DOMVS SAXONIÆ.

DIV aspectavi & connivi ego huic actui, & fidem Domui Austriacæ & Philippo synceram præstiti, ne invictissimum Regis Philippi Belgium jamdudum ad extraneos deveniret, quod mihi Hispania acceptum referre habet. Iam vero diutiùs sopitum quiescere, & quasi micare in tenebris, mihi & filio meo Christiano intoleranda & irrecuperabilis jactura et damnum videtur. Ideo arcum intendo meum & jacula mitto, & sagittæ meæ ac tela fortunæ filij mei Christiani etiam

am directè collimant metam & invadentes feriunt, ac disijciunt Burgundicum illum, ac Austriacum Leonem, vnde meum, ac filij mei regnum ac dominatio, amplè dilatatur. Quod ego Hæréſq; meus fæliciter consummavimus.

A Prophecy of *Paulus Grebnerus*, vpon the Lyon of the Houſe of *Saxony*.

I Haue long lookt on and winked at the buſineſſe: and ſtill haue I kept my faith vntainted vnto the houſe of *Auſtria* and to *Philip*: that ſo the vnconquered *Belgium* might not long agoe haue falne into the hands of Strangers: and thus much *Spaine* owes me. But for me to lye ſtill aſleepe, and to be hoodwinkt as it were any longer: ſeemes an intollerable and an irrecoverable loſſe and

* The Low-Countries, and the *Wallon* Countries.

detriment

detriment vnto my ſelfe and my ſon̄ *Chriſtianus*. Now therefore bend I my bow, and ſhoot abroad my darts: whereupon the arrowes and darts of mine owne fortune and *Chriſtianus* my Sonne, doe directly hitte the marke, and ſmite thoſe that invade me: yea they caſt downe that Burgundian and Auſtrian Lyon: wherupon is the Kingdome and Dominion of my ſelfe and Sonne, very amply enlarged. Thus much haue I and mine heyre, moſt happily atchieved.

OF THE MEETING

Given by the Emperor, vnto certaine Electors of the Empire, at the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, 1630. Acurately and truely deſcribed in a Letter, by one that very well vnderſtood how matters were there carryed.

Faithfully tranſlated out of the Latine Printed Copie; with ſome Marginall Notes added, for cleering of the Story.

The Letter.



Oncerning the paſſages of the *Electorall Dyet*, truely my noble friend *N: N:* I had according to my promiſe, diſpatcht a more early advice vnto you, but that vpon my returne to *Ratisbone*, there were more dayes ſpent in mutuall *viſits* and *Entertainments* of friends, then indeed I was willing withall: But having now gotten looſe of this troubleſome kinde of Courteſie, and that the diſpatch of my buſineſſe, together with the retyrednеſſe of the place where I now reſide, had afforded me ſome leyſure, I would no longer delay the diſcharge of that obligatiõ, in which I ſtood engaged vnto you.

Now after twelue yeares of most bloudy warres, and almost vtter desolation brought vpon a goodly Countrey; very probable surely it was, that a peace would be desired on all hands, and that for the full concluding thereof, this very *Dyet* had principally beene Convoked. As for the *Protestants*, they verily had even vnto this day vndergone the hardest of all hardship; being still overlaid with most heavy impositions, and with the billettings of the Souldiers of the *Catholike* * *Leaguers:* Yea the *Catholickes* themselues, having had often tryall of the insolencies of the *Imperiall* Souldiers, and of the chargeablenesse of the warre; beganne now also mightily to distast the Covetousnesse of their owne partner, the Duke of *Bavaria*. Vpon this discontentment was the *Palatine* of * *Newburg* reported, to haue fallen off from the *League:* as for the Archbishop of *Saltsburg*, he (as having no share among the other Princes in what should be conquered or recovered by the warre,) had for many yeares past withdrawne his Contribution. The Bishop Elector of *Triers* also very earnestly complained of the damages received by the *Spanish:* namely, of the pillaging of his Country, and the plundering of his Subjects houses: yea, and the Bishop * Elector of *Colein* also gaue off among the rest. In this one point notwithstanding, did the counsels and desires of the *Protestant* party differ from the *Catholickes*; for that *They* out of a well meaning simplicitie desired an vtter forgetfulnesse of things passed, and a right downe *peace*: whereas *These*, tis true, seemed to be contented to lay downe Armes; but not except the Church goods withheld by the *Protestants*, might first be restored. Furthermore, that the Emperour was for his part heartily desirous both of the *Peace*, and this *Dyet*; we are in courtesie bound to beleeue it. For when it was talkt on in every mans mouth at *Vienna*, how that both the *Peace* and *Agreement* were but given out for a meere showe, the *Dyet* not really intended, and that the *Emperour* never meant to goe to *Ratisbone*; *He* gaue the Count of *Schwarzenburg* (Marshall of his house) a shrewd checke, for that he had not already given order to the household, gotten the carriages together,

* The *Catholike* Princes of the Empire, who haue entred into a League for the recovery of the Church lands, and for the rooting out of the *Protestant* Religion.

* The Duke of *Newburgh*, a yonger house of the *Palsgrave*, & who put in for the *Electorate*: lately before, turnd *Papist*.

* Brother to the Duke of *Bavaria*.

gether, made provision of Wagons and * Shipping, and for that by his slackness and negligence, matter was ministred for the people diversly to descant vpon: and credible it was, that *Himselfe* being a Prince of milde disposition, vsed to liue in peace heretofore; did now begin to consider vpon the variable changes of fortune, and after so many yeares of prosperously atchieved warres, was at length desirous of ease and quietnesse. To be feared besides it was, lest that these continued warres, these immortall Impositions, these violences, iniuries, and Ravages; would be beleeved to be commanded, for that they were not forbidden: and that when people saw no other helpe for it, they would seeke a remedie even out of despayre it selfe.

*For both *Vienna* and *Ratisbone* are scituated vpō the *Danubie*.

But as for those whose mindes were fully taken vp with the opinion of *Cæsars* affecting to Rule all (people being very apt to imagine the worst) they mainly suspected *His* designe in summoning this *Dyet*, not to proceed out of any care of the publicke, or his desire of an equall peace; but that *He* was partly constrained vnto it by some pressing necessitie of his owne, and that he might lay such a ground-worke for the house of *Austria*, as he might build vpon hereafter. And that becaus every thing now helpt forward his businesse as he could desire. That whatsoever had any strength (to resist him) in the whole Empire, what through warres, tributes, and accusations, lay now a drawing on, vpon an easie death as it were. That it was the part of a wise man to follow his fortune, which had hitherto beene alwayes favourable vnto *Cæsar*. That a man must make his best vse of what ever befalls him. That many things were to be brought about by putting to the venter, which were accounted difficult in the beginning. That by the ayde of the *Catholike Leaguers*, the *Protestant* Princes first; and those being made a hand with, even the *Catholikes* themselues, might very possibly be brought vnder the Dominion of the house of *Austria*. That the *Conde D'Ognate* of the house of *Guevaras*, the late *Spanish* Embassador with the *Emperour*, (a man not ignorant of the designes then on foote) was wont to cast out a word now and then a-

Peoples suspitions of *Cæsars* intentions.

Their Argumēts for their suspition taken, from the opinion of the Courtiers.

mongſt his friends, *How that the Gownes of the Germane Biſhops were with the longeſt, and that their traynes muſt therefore be clipt.*

Furthermore, ſuppoſe the *Peace* did never ſo much pleaſe, (the Emperour) yet the *Dyet*, by which it was to be concluded, ought by all meanes to be avoyded. For by this courſe, ſhould *Cæſars* both words and actions come vnder cenſure; and the authoritie of *Majeſtie* be by that meanes much weakned: that this is the Condition of Ruling, that the Accompt be allowed vpon no other Termes, then as given vp to one man onely.

But whereas there was an Army already now on foote; the warre not onely begun, but farre advanc't; Contributions impoſed, divers Princes depoſed, and *new men ſet vp by the Court; every thing (to conclude) paſſed quite contrary to the Lawes; the *States* of the *Empire*; yea the *Electors* themſelues eyther vnwitting of them, or vnwilling with them; how could all theſe things be defended; yea which way could they poſſibly be excuſed? Furthermore, how ever *Cæſar* might be earneſtly enclined to a peace, yet muſt his power be neceſſarily kept vp by force and ſtrong hand. That both the *Nobilitie* & the *Commons* had beene too highly exaſperated, with a ſhew of varietie of injuries; yea, and that they would take Courage to revenge themſelues, ſo ſoone as ever they ſhould ſee *Cæſar* diſarme.

*They meane *Walſteyn*, who the Emperour made Duk of *Meckleburg*.

Theſe reaſons, no doubt, had beene throughly canvaſſed at Court, and had a long time exerciſed both *Cæſar* and his *Courtiers* with ſuſpence; againſt all which, the neceſſitie of going forward with the *Dyet* prevayled notwithſtanding: for, as for ſuch ſpirits as having beene throughly chafed, were eager vpon the warres; they were to be pacified with the hopes of *Peace*, and the mending of the times: and againſt ſo many enemies, the *French*, the *Sweden*, and the *Hollanders*, comming all like a tempeſt at once vpon them; the *Princes* of the *Empire* were to be brought about: and to be perſwaded, That *theſe* being not the private enemies of the houſe of *Auſtria* alone, but the publique adverſaries of the Empire;

Reaſons to perſwade to the *Dyet*.

were

were to be beaten off at the common charges, and with their vnited forces. Nor was *Cæsar* ignorant, that very many there were, so farre forth Maisters of themselues as fayrely to *obey*, though not slavishly to *serue*, that argued among themselues vpon the miseries of servitude; raked vp the injuries received; and that aggravated all, by construing things to the worst sence: and, as for the defeating of the *Imperialists** in *Prussia*; the cutting them off in *Holland*; their incountrings with so much hardship in *Italy*; the taking in of St. *Hertoghenbusck*, and of *Wesel*; the falling of the King of *Sweden* into the* Empire; many, he well knew, did openly talke of all these things, as not much amisse. But another reason for this *Dyet* there was, (nor was there any other cause that so neerely concerned *Cæsars* going to it) to settle (namely) the Empire in his owne *family*, to shew his Sonne vnto the *Princes*, and to win the *Electors* vnto him. Thus the *Catholikes*, the *Protestants*, and the *Emperour*, for diverse respects, and with equall desires, all sought the *Peace*. The *Protestants* desired such a one, as might promise a forgetfulnesse of matters passed, and securitie for all sides: the *Catholikes*, they were earnest to haue the Lands first of all restored vnto the Churches, and the Churches vnto the old Religion: as for *Cæsar*, that *He* cald a Peace, to haue his Rebells curbed, and all submitted to his disposing: which Peace notwithstanding did no way perswade the disbanding the Armies, nor the easing of the Impositions. And this was the state of the Empire, thus stood mens mindes disposed, when as *Cæsar* and the *Electors* met at the *Dyet* of *Ratisbone*.

* By the King of *Sweden*: against whom, *Holsteyn* first, and *Arnheim* next, had bin sent.

* That is, into *Prussia*.

Now were the heads of the Consultation proposed: in the beginning whereof, *Cæsar* in a long Oration pleaded for himselfe, That *He* might not be thought to be eyther the Causer of so cruell a *warre*, or the hinderer of the *Peace*: imputing all the mischiefes that fell out vpon the warre, vnto the *Palsgraue*, and his associates, *Mansfeild*, *Brunswicke*, and the King of *Denmarke*: That *himselfe* being the forwardest, there had beene divers Conferences concerning an Agreement; but through the stubbornnesse of the adverse partie, all the Trea-

The summe of the Emperours Oration, in six Articles.

ties had come to nothing; now at length therefore high time it was, seriously to bethinke themselues of a good *Peace*; or if that could not at the best hand be obtained, then to deuise vpon the way of a joynt league, both betweene themselues and with the *Emperor*, against the disturbers of this so necessary a Peace; be they natiues of the Empire, or be they forreigners; and in as much as the *Palsgraue Fredericke*, (the Causer both of these warres and miseries) after those most equall Conditions propounded to him by the *Electors* in their *Dyet* at *Mulhausen*, is not to this day come in; nor hath ever since desisted from such Courses, as haue beene troublesome both vnto his Countrey and common peace; but hath stirr'd vp others heretofore, and the *Hollanders* of latter times, vnto the destruction of his owne Countrey: The *Emperors* request therefore was, that the *Electors* would be pleased to passe an *Act* of *Counsell*, whereby the *Palsgraue* should continue a banished man without all hopes of returning, and that they would never vouchsafe to entertaine eyther peace or amitie with him. He furthermore declared, how that the *Hollanders* having long since shaken off all due reverence vnto the *Empire*, had with a sacrilegious boldnesse of late, both besieged and taken in, certaine of *his* good Cities and Dominions: now therefore it must be lookt vnto, that the Empire suffer no damage: and the remedies must now be consulted vpon, how the boldnesse of these robbers might best be restrained; and how that which vnjustly they had taken away, might be recovered. The fourth poynt to be considered vpon, was the warres of *Italy*, and the *French* King: who now invaded the rights of the Empire, and made himselfe an Vmpire of such matters, as belong'd not vnto his Cognizance; which is not to be endured, sayth the Emperour. As for the King of *Sweden*, there be no causes of enmitie betwixt vs: but if he will not condescend vnto the *Imperiall Ambassador* the *Burgraue* of *Dhona*, and the King of *Denmarke* the Mediator of the *Peace*; then verily he is to be threatned with the power of the *Romane* Empire; and if he gaue not over, then was his bold attempt to be chastised by force of Armes.

But the King of *Sweden* sayd otherwise in his Defence, which see afterwards.

Last

Last of all, were the Princes advised to consult vpon the meanes, of maintaining a standing Army, and of the restoring of Martiall Discipline; and of the manner of laying, and of levying the Impositions.

So soone as ever these *Propositions* were noysed abroad, they were variously descanted vpon by diverse: most men admiring, that whereas the first Proposition tooke care how to establish a good Peace; the fiue other Articles breathed out nothing but menaces of warres and Armies. That the Soveraigntie of the house of *Austria*, and the base enduring of servitude by the other side, was the thing (forsooth) that must be called *Peace*. That all was now excused, by the rebellion of the *Bohemians*, the oversight of the *Palsgraue*, and the stubborne spirits of *Mansfeild*, and the rest. That those Armes which were at first taken vp against enemies, were now turnd against the Common-wealth: For, after the differences were compounded with the King of *Denmarke*, there remained no enemy in the whole Empire; and yet the *Army* and the *Impositions*, were nevertheless commanded to be kept on foote. But now plainely was this driven at, that the private quarrels of the house of *Austria*, might be maintained by the power of the *Romane* Empire: which must there by make another mans quarrell, her owne interest. But as for * *Fredericke*, the *Hollanders*, the * Duke *de Nivers*, and for his sake the *French* King, and the King of *Sweden*; to conclude, they all professe themselues injuried by the *Austrians*, and to keepe firme amitie with the Empire. And suppose that *Frederick* had invaded the Crowne of *Bohemia* vnjustly, and had merited punishment in that regard; yet had his *Electorall* dignitie beene taken from him, and conferred vpon the Duke of *Bavaria*; before ever the consent of the *Princes* of the Empire had beene asked; the *Electors* gainesaying it: yea, the King of *Spaine* himselfe, being vtterly against it. People, moreover, were bold to Propheey, That never should Peace returne into the Empire, vnlesse the Prince *Palatine* were first restored into all, or into a good part of his lost dignitie and Dominions. For not he in his owne person alone, and

The Peoples construction of the Emperours Oration.

*The King of *Bohemia*.

* Now Duke of *Mantua*, whose Ancestors being of a yõger house of *Mantua*, setled themselues in *Frãce*; to whom for want of Issue, *Mãtua* is now falne: the Investiture wherof being denied him by the Emperour, and the King of *Spaine* set on; the *French* King appeared with an Army in favour of him.

and his so many Children, and their posteritie, (which soever of them were so minded,) would sometime or other become the subject of more troubles; but the *Austrians* and *Spaniard*, with the *Hollander*; and the *Protestants* (who by putting the Prince *Palatine* out of the *Colledge* of *Electors*, should alwayes hereafter be too weake in number of voyces,) with the *Catholikes*; would ever jarre with a perpetuated heart-burning. But were that Prince re-estated in his ancient place; then should that too great power of the Duke of *Bavaria*, the heart-burning against the house of *Austria*, and the feares which the *Protestants* now stood in, be all taken away.

And now that the Duke of *Bavaria* might neither be afraid, nor asham'd, to lay aside the *Electorship*, obtained by his valour and * deserts; they interposed this Counsell; to leaue (namely) a part of the *Palatinate*, vnto him and his heires for ever; and, (which is sayd not to be without example) to haue the *Electorship* goe by turnes between them, from one vnto another; eyther by terme of yeares, or liues. Moreover, as for the *Hollanders*, notwithstanding they had renounced their allegiance to the King of *Spaine*; yet they fayrely conserved the Majestie of the *Empire*; yea and that with their neighbouring Princes, (though *Catholikes*) they did religiously maintaine the Articles and Quarter of *Neutralitie*. True it is, that by the right of Warre they had made themselues Masters of certaine places, which either the *Spaniard* before held; or they feared he would take in: whereas the *Emperour* on the contrary; not by them provoked by any injury, had without any Decree of the *Empire* to that purpose, all out of a private desire of his owne for the assisting of the King his Cosin; sent the Count *de Monte-Cuculi*, even into the very heart of **Holland* it selfe, with an Army. This was the cause of the revenge which *they* tooke afterward: nor did they more then enough in so doing, or committed any thing contrary to the Law of Armes. That for the Warres * of *Italy*, the Rights of the Empire, tis true, were pretended; but yet were they with the bloud, and at the charges of the

Germane

* Deserts to the Emperor, vnderstand; and not to his Cosin the Prince *Palatine*.

* While the Prince of *Orange* lay before St. *Hertoghenbosch*.

* About the Dukedome of *Mantua*; which the *Spaniard* perchance could haue bin willing to haue seised for himselfe in the Emperors name; who pretended the Dukedome to be a Fee or Forfeiture of the Empire.

Germane Nation, maintained in behalfe of the King of *Spaine*. For as for the Duke *de Nivers*, he was ever ready to haue ſworne *fealtie*, and done his *homage* to the Emperour: but indeed it no way ſtood with the *Spaniards* deſignes, to haue a Prince ſo neere a neighbour vnto his Dutchy of *Millaine*, that were infected with a *French* ſpirit. Againſt the King of *Sweden* they affirmed, how that the *Emperour* in ayde of his Coſin the King of *Poland* had ſent a ſtrong Army: and therefore ought not to take it ill, if by the ſame Law of Armes, that King ſhould now aſſiſt his owne Coſins the Dukes of *Mecklenburg* condemned, * before they were heard: revenging withall, the private injuries offered vnto himſelfe. Theſe and the like Diſcourſes paſſed vp and downe.

* By the Emperor, to leeſe their Eſtates: Whereupon, *Walſteyn* with his Army fell vpon the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, whom the Emperour having Created Duke of *Freidlandt* before, now made him Duke of *Mecklenburg*.

* But the *Electors* in a graue and a ſolemne Anſwere, inſiſted vpō the miſeries of the preſent times, the outrages committed in the Warres, and the exceſſiueneſſe of the Impoſitions; laying all the fault vpon the author of all theſe, the new Duke of *Mecklenburg*, Generall of the Emperors great Armie; through his ſides, thus girding even at the Emperour himſelfe; ſeeing, that vnto him *He* had given ſo large a Commiſſion (and that without the conſent of the Princes of the Empire) as never before him any had: That there had an infinite Army beene gathered; to no vſe, vnleſſe to the deſtruction of their Country: that warre had beene commenced againſt ſuch, as it had never beene denounced: That the Impoſitions, which by the Law of the Empire it had beene fit to haue aſſeſſed by the joynt conſent of the Princes; had at the pleaſure of the ſayd Duke beene impoſed, and moſt rigorouſly exacted. They at the ſame time alſo affirmed, how that the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* alone in theſe few yeares paſt, (beſides thoſe ineſtimable damages, which vſually accompany the Warres, and the vnruly Souldiers,) had beene faine to contribute (and that vnder the name of a Tribute) to the value of twentie Millions of * *Florens*.

* The ſumme of the Princes Anſwer vnto the Emperors Propoſitions.

* A *Florens*, is about two ſhillings Engliſh.

At which time theſe ſeverall complaints were alſo given vp: The Duke of *Pomerland* complained himſelfe for ten Millions drawne out of his Principalitie of *Stetin* alone; and

that in one onely yeare, beſides an vnneceſſary rabble of *Hang-byes*, *Drablers*, and the Skullery of the Armie; there had beene one and thirtie thouſand foote, and ſeaven thouſand fiue hundred and fortie horſe, billetted vpon *Pomerland*. *William*, *Landtgrave* of *Heſſen*, for his tribute of ſome certaine yeares, ſeaven Millions; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, monethly contributed an hundred and twentie thouſand *Florens*. The Citie and State of *Norimberg*, twentie thouſand a moneth: others likewiſe complained, of ſome more, ſome leſſe, that had beene raked from them. They highly accuſed thereupon the prodigall luxury of the ſayd Duke, his *Collonells* & *Captaines*, for their flanting of it in ſuch rich Cloaths and houſehold-ſtuffe, of gold and ſilver; and the incredible high keeping and trappings of their horſes.

At the ſame time there was a little Booke ſhewed vp and downe, wherein the ordinary proviſions of* his houſe, the offices of his Court, and the names of thoſe that had principall charge about him, were conteined; and all theſe with larger allowance (as it was ſayd) then thoſe of the Emperours owne pallace. Then was his ſo much envied houſe, built at *Prage* out of the ſpoyles of the Empire, and vpon the ruines of an hundred houſes, purpoſely pluckt downe for him, every where ſpoken of.

* *Walſteyns.*

Nor could any of theſe things be denied. But thoſe times (as the Emperour excuſed it) and the power the enemy was then growne vnto, and, the victory, depending vpon ſpeedy purſuite alone (nothing being ſafer in Civill Warres, then expedition) could not away with that ſcrupulous order of the ancient Cuſtomes. Many a Diſpute in writing hereupon paſſed too and againe, on both ſides: in all which, the Emperour preſſed no new Propoſition or requeſt: but the *Electors* mainly vrged the caſheering of the new * Duke and his Army; to haue a Peace made with the *French* King, and the Princes of *Italy*; yea with the King of *Sweden* alſo; whoſe Fleete was not as yet arrived vpon the Coaſts of *Pomerland*. The* Ambaſſador of *Fredericke* the *Palatine*, they were very earneſt to haue admitted to *Audience*, vnto whom now

* *Walſteyn.*

* Mr. *Ruſſdorff* by name.

comming

comming to the *Dyet* in company of the King of great *Britaines** Ambaſſador, they gaue aſſurance for his ſafe comming and returning. With the *Hollanders* laſt of all, they all, (but eſpecially the Biſhop *Elector* of *Colein*, who lyes neareſt to the danger) deſired peace vpon any termes: a buiſineſſe of which moment, they all affirmed worthy to be referred vnto a *Dyet* of the whole Empire. Many things therefore the *Electors* by voyces at length carried, which fell heavy vpon the Emperour and his Courtiers.

* Sir *Robert Anſtruther.*

Vnto *Walenſteyn* therefore firſt of all, were there ſent *Iohn Baptiſta Verdenberg*, and *Gerard Queſtenberg*; Barons both of them, and both of them enriched by him with many a mightie gift; and both of them alwayes beleeved to be at Court the great advancers of his Projects. But even therefore were they made choyce of before any others, as the fitteſt men to perſwade with him. The taske which they vndertooke, ſeemed to be the difficulteſt of all the reſt; it being beleeved that *Walenſtein* being a man of a moſt haughtie ſpirit, accuſtomed to a military command, one that had beene Courted by the greateſt Princes, and vpheld by infinite riches; would never dully endure ſuch an affront, nor by his good will ever ſtoope againe vnto a private life. Cauſe to feare moreover he had, leſt they who never durſt doe it when he was a *Generall*, would yet require their own of him when he ſhould become a private man. And the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg* * (they beleevd) likely hereby to be expoſed to moſt certaine danger. All mens mindes now full of expectation what would be the event of that meſſage; all men now afraid of new hurly-burlies; behold now (what every *body much admired at) *Walenſtein* immediately obeyes the commandement of the *Emperour*. Some indeede ſurmiſed, that he being a faſt ſervant to the *Emperour*, though a gallantly magnificent ſpirited perſon; yet being now become inexorable by the many faults committed by his Souldiers, he would never be wrought to it, eyther by gifts or threatnings; or by any other deviſes, ſuch as vulgar ſpirits vſe to be troubled withall, did therefore in his owne judgement account it his

* They feared leſt he would vſe it, as the Devill did the Poſſeſſed; all to teare it, when he knew he was to leaue it.

* Peoples gueſſes at the reaſon, of *Walenſteins* ſo eaſie quitting of his Armie.

better course, to giue way vnto envie; being in possibilitie one day to see both times and men favourably disposed towards him, who turning with the times, might be changed to repentance. Others suspected him to be weighed downe with great promises, and to haue that way fallen off from the *Emperour*. There were some that said, that even by the skill of some in the Starres (wherein besides others he made vse of *Kepler*, a great Master) and by the *Chaldeans* art, was foresignified, his times and fates to be come, and that they gaue him this Counsell. Others, to conclude, beleeved him to be forced vnto it by necessitie; and that by the cunning even of *Cæsar* himselfe, he was fetcht over, and quit that way of his great forces: and that his vaine heart, out of a hope and desire of warres with *France*, and the glory of a new prey; was thus suddenly taken off from his mightie Army: and that he now remaind at *Memmingen* a prisoner as it were. But what ever the matter was, a very great thing it is, and neere vnto a prodigie; first, that *Cæsar* condescended vnto the *Electors*; and secondly, that *Walenstein* so soone yeelded vnto the *Emperour*.

Another thing there is which the *Electors* now obteined; namely, that those innumerable numbers should be lessened, and the greatest part of the Souldiers disbanded. Then, *Cæsar* promised also, that there should be no warres made vpon any, without the consent of the Princes. And that no Impositions should hereafter be layd, at the pleasure of the *Generall* of the Army, but in the *Land-dayes* of the severall* *Circles*, as they call them. Beyond all this, the desires both of *Cæsar*, the *Electors*, and of the *French* Ambassador conspired in one consort, to make vp a *Peace* so vnwelcome and hated of the *Spaniard*: seeing that by it sure order was taken, first, for re-estating of the Duke *de Nivers* in the possession of *Mantua* and *Montferat*: secondly, that the (*Germane*) Troopes should be recalled out of *Italy*: and lastly, that the passages of the mountaines in the *Grisons* * Countrey, should be layd open as before. None of which Lawes verily are of that nature, that for the obteining of them, there was any neede

* The whole Empire is divided into ten Circles or Provinces: each of which (besides their severall Princes,) hath a President and foure Counsellors to assist him: who call the *Dyets* or *Land-dayes* to consult for the publike. All the Princes of the same Circle, be of one League.

* The *Valteline*.

neede to disturbe the quiet of so many Nations, to expend such vast treasures, and to shed the bloud of so many thousands.

The Treatie with the *English* Ambassador, and the Prince *Palatines Procurator*, although it came to no head; yet thereby way was obteined for Prince *Frederike* to finde Grace: and that those parts of his Dominions which are in the *Spaniards* hands, are now to be quitted vnto him: and he hath the libertie yet left him, to fulfill the Conditions offered him at *Mulhausen*. And thus, (which God turne to a good end,) doe we owe vnto *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, *Goths*, and *Vandalls*, that we are not vtterly despoyled of our *Armes*, nor too streightly curbed by the *Electors*; nor, finally, made the tenants of the *Clergie*.

For when as in the heate of these contentions yet continuing, newes was brought, both that the Baron of *Dhona* was come away from *Dantzik* without any hope of a Peace: and that the King of *Sweden* had already landed an Armie in *Pomerlandt*; made himselfe Master of *Stetin*, and at the same time put the *Imperialists* to flight; *Cæsar*, supposing that to be an occasion to be made vse of; affirmed, that his despising of the Majesty of the *Germane* Empire ought to be revenged vpon him; and that, that error was to be rectified by vertue, which they had run into *by delaying. These Propositions of *Cæsars* were not a little helped forward by a private feare of the *Catholikes*: which was, least that not *Gustavus* alone, (a Prince but of small power) did thus stirre vp the massie weight of so great a warre; but that there were more of the *Protestants*, who out of a hatred to the present estate of things, and a desire of innovation; and those, perchance, forreigne Princes too, should be deeply in the plot with him. These (Catholike Princes) therefore, thus drawne vnto it, not so much out of their loue vnto the *Emperour*, as out of their owne feares, agreed to the *warres*, and *aydes* against him.

* In the time spent in the Treatie of Peace; which had better bin employed in sending an Army, to withstand his so neare approaching.

In the meane time (which thing was cunningly and closely conveighed, and whereof there had beene no mention

made, among any of the heads of the Consultation) was the designe for the Election and Crowning of the King of the *Romanes* mainly intended; and that by most cunning sollicitations, and the earnestest of their devises. *Egenberg*, * a man continually troubled with the Gowt, for which he seldome vsed to come out of his bed; gaue particular *Visites* vnto the foure *Electors* present, and vnto the Ambassadors of the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, at their severall lodgings: finely insinuating vnto them, how that the *Emperour* now well in yeares, was even weary of paines taking, and was a man subject to many diseases besides: that his affection was very good towards the Common-wealth, which he was now able to doe no greater service for, then to settle in it a good Successor. He put them in minde now and then, of the miseries of an *Inter-regnum*: intimated vnto them, the high deservings of the house of *Austria*; wonderfully setting out the towardly hopefulnesse of King * *Ferdinand*.

* The Emperours Counseller.

* The Emperours Sonne, King of *Hungaria*; whom the Emperour would fayne now haue procured to haue beene chosen King of the *Romans*: which is as much as Heyre apparant to the Empire.

To the same purpose, (for that the Ambassadours of the two absent *Electors* excused themselues, as having no instructions or Commission to treate vpon that poynt) were there Letters dispatched vnto the *Electors* themselues; yea, the *Electors* good will was so little doubted of, that a certaine *Physician* of the *Emperours* Court, (and he none of the obscurest, as having a speciall veyne in *Poetry*) in a set *Poeme* which was printed at *Norimberg*, congratulated the *Father*, for the Crowne set vpon his sonne *Ferdinand* the *third* his head, none almost contradicting it. Vnto which intimation (of *Egenbergs*) they all returned answere, magnificent enough for *words*, but emptie for *realitie*: highly thanking the *Emperour* for his Care of the Common-wealth; but that the Lawes of the *Empire* forbad them, to condescend at this time vnto his desires: seeing that by that Law, the *Electors* without particular knowledge of the Cause, could not appoint a *Dyet* for the Creating of the King of the *Romanes*: and that the full knowledge of the Cause conteined many particulars, which require both time and serious consultation. Then, that *Franck-*

Non nisi causa cognita.

ford

ford was by the same Law, the place appointed for the *Election*. That it were wisely done to take away all matter of rumors; that people might haue no cause to say, how all things in that *Dyet*, were in the middle now of *Cæsars* Armies frighting them on every side, not passed by the free voyces of the *Electors*, but by force and feare rather. Thus by a wise dilatory answere, were those requests turn'd off, which in right-downe termes, the *Electors* would not willingly haue denied. But whither it were their Care of the publick good, and to keepe their owne liberties; or that the ambitious counsell of the Duke of *Bavaria* stept in betweene, I know not: but very certaine it is, that great offence was taken at it, that King *Ferdinand* in his Caroach, in all meetings, and where-soever; still ambitiously affected the vpper hand; which was denied to belong vnto him, whilest his *Father* was living. And the report was, that the Bishop *Elector* of *Mentz*, gaue *Stralendorff* Vice-chancellor of the *Empire*, a privie *Item* to that purpose.

The Law of Soveraigntie eagerly raged in the meane time; and diverse of the Gentry of *Franckenlandt*, *Schwabenland*, and the *Palatinate*, were there accused to haue borne Armes, vnder *Mansfeild*, **Durlack*, and *Brunswick*, against the *Emperour*. Some affirmed them to be guiltie: themselues sayd they onely found themselues guiltie, by suffering their punishment. The execution of this businesse, did the *Emperour* now commit vnto *Wolfgang Rudolph Ossa:* (a man accounted rather *great*, then *good*; taken to'ther day out of the service of the Counts of *Hanaw*, into the number of the Court *Flyes* or *Instruments:*) Commanding the goods of the condemned persons to be confiscated into his owne Exchequer: the *Electors* and other *Princes*, earnestly protesting against the proceedings; claiming, those *Gentlemen* to be within their Dominions: and that these *Fees* which *Cæsar* now Confiscated into his owne Coffers, the *Gentlemen* did hold of them, and of their Ancestors; and that all such *Forfeitures* and *Atteinders* were by the favour of former *Emperours*, and long Custome, due vnto them. *Cæsar* continued resolute notwithstanding;

* The Marquesse of *Baden*; Lieutenant of the Army of the Princes of the *Vnion*, for the keeping of the *Palatinate*, and the *Protestant* Countryes. After the dissolving of the *Vnion*, in the yeare 1621. he the next yeare fought with his owne forces about *Sinsin*, betwixt the *Palatinate* and *Wirtemberg*: where the good old man was defeated by *Tilly* and *Don Cordova*.

ſtanding; and diſpatcht away *Oſſa* with a moſt ample Commiſſion: then which action of *Cæſars*, none was generally taken in worſe part. Becauſe even bad Princes, though ſometimes they puniſhed ſuch as were actually proov'd traytors, yet they alwayes too narrowly ſearcht not into every man, that was to himſelfe guiltie: that they huſht vp many a fowle thing, by a wiſe diſſimulation, rather then by bringing it to open puniſhments. That he that takes away one enemy, makes way for many. That he eſpecially who hath any thoughts of Peace-making in him, is not to take notice of every thing: for feare leſt the whirlewindes after much adoe being now ſcarce layd, ſhould bluſter out againe into a vehementer tempeſt. That bodies weakned by a ſickneſſe, are not preſently againe to be tampered withall by Phyſicke; but to be recovered with quiet. That ſcarcely can the actions of the beſt Princes be defended, much leſſe theirs, which are alwayes ſuſpected of avarice: That vpon theſe grounds, *Coſimo de Medicis*, (a moſt wiſe * *Prince*,) alwayes left the Eſtates of ſuch as were attaynted, vnto their Children and next kindred. Finally, the buſineſſe which of its owne nature was grievous enough, would be made much heavier by the ſharking of the Officers.

* Duke of Florence in *Italy*.

But theſe *Court-Harpyes* forſooth, now after that vnder the pretence of treaſons againſt the Emperour, and exerciſe of forbidden Religi ons; they had with their vncleanely talons, foully gryped *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and both the *Auſtria's*, and wrung the *Nobilitie* and *Gentry* (whoſe caſe was rather to be pittied) out of their inheritances: their inſatiable mawes being not yet full cramb'd, they now whetted their Clawes and infamous beakes againe, to devoure the wealth of the *Empire*. That their yawning gullets, were yet ſet wider vpon the tenterhookes, by the eaſineſſe of the Emperour; in whoſe ſervice (he being a Prince too much governed by his Officers) men might offend with leſſe feare, and greater reward. One thing there was that added more matter to theſe ſpeeches; a word (namely) that ſcaping from *Werdenberg*, was preſently taken vp by the people: how that

the

the goods of the *Gentry* of *Franckenlandt*, were already granted away vnto the *Lords* of the *Emperours* privy Councell; both for the payment of their Penſions now many yeares behinde, and alſo for the reward of their paines and faithfulneſſe, yet for all this, the names of the * Counts of *Meggau* and *Trautmanſtorff*, and of the Abbot of *Cremſmunſter* (which three perſonages, by what title I know not, had out of the Exchequer received ſome of the eſcheated goods) they much ſcorned and deſpiſed, as new and ſtrange preferments: for a diſpoſition there is bred in the bone of vs mortalls; with ill eyes to looke aſquint at other mens newly acquired happineſſe; and with an equall repining to meaſure other mens good, and our owne injuries. But *Cæſar*, ſhall I ſay, or theſe that beare all the ſway at Court, remained reſolute and peremptory in the matter: all loath to looſe ſo plentifull a Fiſhing.

* I beleeue that theſe 3. having thus gotten eſtates, had alſo new titles given them by the Emperour; for the firſt of which they were hated, and for the laſt, ſcorned by the *Germane* Nation, that ſtand much vpon their ancient Nobiliſtie. This Abbot of *Cremsmunſter*, was preferred to the Biſhopricke of *Vienna* in *Auguſt* following.

You haue long expected, my noble Friend, to heare what hath beene moued, argued, and decreed in this *Dyet*, concerning the reſtitution of the Church goods. That ſhall I briefly tell you of. It ſtood not with the *Emperours* honor, againe to ſubmit a caſe already decided by himſelfe, and wherein he had by his *Proclamation* declared his pleaſure, vnto the Cenſure of others. Nor any whit of favour was there all this while ſhewed vnto the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*, the Counts of *Hohenloe* and *Waldeck*, the Cities of *Strasburg*, and *Norimberg*: who by ſentences every day paſſed againſt them, were commanded to quit the goods of the Church. And thus may it hereby ſufficiently appeare, how that that diſtinction of time agreed vpon, and the *Tranſaction* of *Paſſaw*, hath not hitherto beene obſerved, no not by *Cæſar* himſelfe; but that of the following time hath beene obſerved: ſeeing, that the Credit of all proofes, though never ſo cleare, hath beene overthrowne by cavills and by ſubtleties. Certaine it is, that the Count of *Furſtemberg*, *Preſident* * of the *Iudgement*, returned no other anſwere vnto *Caſpar Vrban à Feiltsch*, Chancellor to the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*,

* *Iudicij Præſes.*

denburg, complaining of the vnjuſt ſentence decreed againſt the Counts of *Hohenlo*, than this vulgar *Verſe*.

Fronte capillata eſt, poſthac occaſio calva.

That, *Occaſion* is to be taken by the foretop, becauſe ſhee is bald behind. Which ſame man in a familiar manner thus anſwered vnto *George Muller* (whom you well know) and to my ſelfe: that ſeeing our *Counts* * had confeſſed themſelues, for the ſpace of foureſcore yeares and vpwards, to haue kept the poſſeſſion of the *Church Goods*; it followed neceſſarily that they muſt with a good will leaue them for as long time vnto the *Catholikes*: and that after that terme, they might poſſibly returne vnto the *Proteſtants* againe. Theſe mocks were added, vnto Iuſtice denyed vs.

And yet about the latter end of the *Dyet*, the Ambaſſadors of *Franckenlandt*, *Schwaben*, of the *Saxon* Princes alſo, and the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and of certaine *Cities* beſides; delivered in writing the *Forme* and the *Decrees* of that * *Tranſaction*, vnto the *Chancellor* of the Biſhop *Elector* of *Mentz*: and he on the other ſide, in another writing declared vnto them, the Conditions vnto which the *Catholike* Princes ſeemed to haue conſented. And to this paſſe the matter at laſt came, That for the further Compounding of all Differences, the time was appointed to be in *February*, and the place *Franckford*.

The *Catholike* partie treated * the buſineſſe in good earneſt: but whether the reaſon of it were, for that intelligence being even now given them by their Spies of certaine ſecret levies of Souldiers, at that inſtant made by the *Elector* of *Saxony* and ſome others in *Franckenlandt*; and that they ſtanding in feare thereupon of further troubles, were deſirous to maintaine the hope of a good agreement in the *Proteſtants*; I cannot eaſily determine: time will diſcover all. Of all which; as alſo how things now ſtand betwixt the Princes of the *Catholike League*: and of the Orders taken (for ſhowe rather, than

* The Maſters of *George Muller*, and of the Author.

* Of *Paſſaw* as before: where (*Anno* 1553.) there had beene a former *Dyet* held; wherein the *Proteſtant* Princes had received ſome confirmation or conſent from the Emperour, for their Appropriated church goods. Againſt which *Tranſaction* the Emperour had ſince taken them away, by ſentences and Commiſſions againſt them.

* That the orders of *Paſſaw* might be kept, and the *Proteſtãts* not be too ſuddenly caſt out of the Church Lands.

than for continuance) about the manner of paying the Souldiery; wee ſhall at my comming into ----*land*, more commodiouſly ſpeake together. Farewell my noble Friend, *N: N:* and loue me ſtill.

Your Obſervant,

N. N.

20
16. 2.

THE PROTESTANTS DYET OF *LEIPSICH*, *February* 8. 1631.

And what followed vpon it, vntill their joyning with the King of *Sweden*.

THe Imperiall *Dyet* thus ending *November* 1/11. left matters in farre worſe eſtate than it found them: for that men perceived now their very hopes to be taken away, as their liberties and goods had beene before. And the *Proteſtant* Princes finding themſelues ſtartled by foure things eſpecially, perceived it high time now for them to take the Alarme. The firſt of the foure was this: that whereas the Duke of *Saxony* had in the time of the *Dyet* written advice vnto the Emperour, of the King of *Swedens* approaching; the Emperour tells him againe, how he hoped that himſelfe (*Saxony*) and *Brandenburg* would well ayde him, with money, munition, and other neceſſaries. By which anſwere, *Saxony* perceived a new bill of Charges comming vpon the *Proteſtants* next thoſe parts, where the King of *Sweden* was landed. The ſecond was this: the round courſe taken by the Emperour for the recovering of the Church Lands; which neither the *Elector* of *Saxony* was able to ſtay by his Letters vnto the Emperour; nor the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* and other Princes, with their preſence at the *Dyet*: but that even before their owne faces, daily Commiſſions were ſent out againſt them. A third was this: that rigide courſe (taken by adviſe

adviſe of the *Ieſuites*) for Reformation of the *Proteſtant Churches* and *Schooles*, and the forbidding of the libertie of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*. The fourth was, that *Decree* of the Emperours (publiſhed foure dayes before the breaking vp of the *Dyet*, though hammered vpon long before:) for the continuance of the Warres againſt the King of *Sweden*: whereas the way had beene propounded and adviſed vpon before, how to compound the matter, rather then how to continue the troubles. And that which aggravated the Decree for the warres being; not onely that the Princes were to be at the charges of it, but that the levies were to be layd and collected, not by the conſent of thoſe who ſhould pay them, but at the pleaſure of the Imperiall *Commiſſaries*: for the moderating of whoſe power, and repreſſing the numbers and inſolencies of the Souldiers, notwithſtanding ſome ſlight promiſes were now made; yet how far they would be kept, was in their owne pleaſures. The *Proteſtants* by theſe arguments being not onely made ſuſpitious, but ſenſible too; that there were not too many good intentions in the Emperour towards them, their Eſtates or Religions: begin to enter into a Conſultation for their owne ſafetie. The plot for it was layd thus. That whereas there had beene a Conference betwixt *them* and the *Catholikes* at the former *Dyet*, concerning the Church Lands; the further treatie thereupon, was referred vnto a *Dyet* (procured by the *Catholikes*) to be held at *Franckford* vpon *Mayn*, in *Auguſt* following; the Duke of *Saxony* ſhould write his Letters vnto the *Emperor*, (which was ſeconded by the mediation of the *Electors* of *Mentz* and *Bavaria*,) entreating libertie for the *Proteſtants* to hold a *Dyet* by themſelues, in ſome convenient place; that ſo by their vnited Counſells they might be provided, for an anſwere at the future *Dyet* of *Franckford*.

The Emperour graunts the *Dyet*.

The *Imperiall* aſſent being thus obteyned; the *Proteſtant* Princes by their Letters and Ambaſſadours agree vpon the *Dyet*: the place to be *Leipſich*, and the time the 8.th of *February*. That the ſeverall Princes and States therefore might know before-hand, what Inſtructions to giue vnto the Am-

Saxonyes Letters.

bassadors they were to send; the Duke of *Saxony* in his *Invitatory* Letters to each of them, layes open the purpose of the intended *Dyet*; fayrely communicating the mayne propositions, both vnto them, and to the Emperour. The contents whereof were; First, To consult how the Church might with a good Conscience be maintained in her ancient liberties and happie estate. Secondly, How to keepe their due obedience to the Emperor, and yet preserue the ancient Constitutions and Peace of the Empire. Thirdly; How to maintaine correspõdency with the *Catholike* Princes. And fourthly, What to answer for themselues both in generall and particular, as well concerning the maintenance of the reformed Religion, as to the Emperours *Edict* concerning the Church-Lands, when they should come to meete at the *Dyet* of *Franckford*.

The Princes thus invited, and the time now come; vpon the fourth of *February* 1631. the *Elector* of *Saxony* enters *Lypsich* in great state: and the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* a little after him. Thither in person came these *Protestant* Princes also. *Christianus* (another) Marquesse of *Brandenburg*. *Iohn William*, and *Bernard*, Dukes of *Saxon Weymar*. *William*, *Landtgrave* of *Hessen*, *Frederick* Marquesse of *Baden*. *Augustus* Prince of *Anhalt*. *Frederick* Count of *Solmes*. *Iohn George*, and *Ernest Lodowike*, Counts of *Mansfeilt*, and the (deposed) Dukes of *Mecklenburg*. These Princes sent their Ambassadors. The Duke of *Deuxponts*. *Iohn Ernestus* another Duke of *Saxony*. *Frederick Vlrick*, Duke of *Brunswicke*. The Duke of *Lunenburg*. The severall Princes of the *Circles* of *Schwaben* and *Franckenlandt*. The Lady of the *Abbey* of *Quedlinburg*. The Bishops *Administrators* of *Mecklenburg* and of *Bremen*. The Counts of *Stolberg*. The Barons of *Reussen* and *Schonberg*. These Townes and States send their *Agents* also. *Norimberg*, *Strasburg*, *Franckford*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, *Brunswick*, *Hildesheim*, *Mullhuisen* and *Northhuisen*. Duke *Lodowick Frederick*, *Administrator* of the Dukedome of *Wirtenberg* was newly dead; and Duke *Iulius* not yet setled: and therefore being not able to come himselfe, he sent

The Protestant partie in the Empire.

the

the Vice-Chancelor of the Dukedome called Doctor *Loesler*, and some other Counsellors, as Deputies for that Dutchie. And these be the *Protestant* party in the Empire: some whereof being *Lutherans*, and some *Calvinists*; they first of all agree to haue that distinction of names (which had caused so much schisme and hatred heretofore) to be vtterly taken away: making a generall Decree, that both Professions should from thence forth be called by one name of *Evangeliacalls*.

That is, Professors of the Gospell.

No man was suffered to stay within the Towne, whose businesse was not knowne: the streets ends were chained vp and barricadoed; guards set at the severall ports; and the keyes of the gates every night brought into the Dukes chamber. And all this, was, to prevent Spyes and surprisalls. The Duke *Elector* of *Saxony* (on whose greatnesse and countenance, the Partie and Action very much depended) makes a speech first of all, which had reference vnto his former Letters of Invitation vnto them: protesting withall, his owne firmenesse and forwardnesse for the peace of the Empire, and the maintenance of the Religion; and that he would be ready to adventure, both life and goods in the Cause: so desiring every man freely to giue his Counsell in such manner, as they might be able to render a fayre accompt of it vnto the Emperour. Vnto this meeting, the King of *Sweden* also sends his Ambassador Doctor *Chemnitius*; who in his Maisters name delivers them this assurance. That his Majesties intentions were no other, then to restore the Empire to her ancient peace, the Princes to their liberties, and to defend the Church in her Religion: telling them moreover, how that the *French* King was newly entred into a League with him for fiue yeares to come. The Ambassador had both speedie Audience, and honorable entertainement. The *Dyet* (to be briefe) brake vp vpon *Palme-Sunday* the third of *Aprill* following. The Conclusions agreed vpon, themselues expresse in their Letters, in humble and complaining manner, enlarged in many sheetes of Paper, sent by an expresse Curryer vnto the Emperour: in which their joynt desires were thus signified.

Saxonyes Oration.

Their

Their humble Remonstrance vnto the Emperor.

Their Complaint and Remonstrance, I reduce into these Propositions.

That the *Golden Bull* and *Constitutions* of the Empire, had of late beene all abused. That the Emperours late *Edict* for restitution of the Church Lands; and his endevours to roote out the *Protestant* Religion, were the maine Causes of these late troubles. The first of these, breeding jealousies and discontents betwixt the *Protestants* and the *Papists*: and the second, tending to the vtter ruine of the two *Electors* of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. Then they complaine of injustice done vnto particular Princes and Cities: some of which, were injuried by the violent taking away of their Church Lands: as the Dukes of *Wirtenberg*, and *Brunswick*, the Prince of *Anhalt*; the Counts *Hohenloe*, *Stolberg*, *Lippe*, *Valdecht*, *Verthimb*, *Erpach*, *&c.* the Towne of *Ausburg*, and others. Some hindered in the exercise of their Religion: as *Augustus* and *Frederike*, Princes *Palatines*, and yonger brethren vnto *Wolfgang William*, *Palatine* of *Newburg* now turnd *Papist*. Others had their Estates confiscated: as the Lady* *Electresse Palatine*, and her Sonne *Lewis*, Prince *Palatine*; the Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, &c. for whom the whole Colledge of *Electors* had interceded in the late *Dyet*, but not prevayled. Others complaine of the violent altering of their Feods and Tenures of their Lands and Lordships; as the last before named Princes, and *Iohn Casimire* Elector of *Saxony*; into whose Lands the Imperiall Commissaries haue with force and Armes intruded; changing the tenures of the tenants, and altering the Religion. *Ernestus* Marquesse and Elector of *Brandenburg* complaines of the same wrongs offered vnto his Pupils, the yong Marquesses* of *Onspach*. *Vlme* Duke of *Brunswick* complaines, first of the ravages of his Lands done by *Tilly*: vpon pretence of moneyes owing to the King of *Denmarke*; and made over by the said King vnto the Emperour: who imployed *Tilly* thus to streyne for them: Secondly, of the seisure of his Bishopricke of *Hildesheim*: and thirdly, that the chiefe Towne of his owne residence *Wolffenbuttle*, had beene forced to take an Imperiall Garrison.

* The mother and brother of the King of *Bohemia*: *Lewis* being Duke of *Simmern*.

* Which are of the house of *Brandenburg*: their Lands lying by *Nuremberg*.

Other-

Others complaine, how they might not haue the benefit of the Law; but were driven away by threatnings and discourteſies. The Electors and Princes complaine of contempts and indignities offered vnto their perſons: ſome of them having beene threatned the *Baſtonado* by ſome of the Emperors Souldiers. The Cities and Circles of the Empire complaine, that vndue and exceſſiue Impoſitions and Taxes haue beene layd vpon them: not by the conſent of themſelues, (as the Imperiall Lawes command) but at the pleaſure of any of the Emperours Commiſſaries. That vnder colour of protecting them, they haue beene forced to afford Quarter and maintenance, vnto the Imperiall Armies: who when they ſhould indeede haue defended them, moſt cowardly ran away. That when they would not endure the Souldiers inſolencies, they haue beene declared enemies of the Empire, and forbidden to defend themſelues. That their Lands haue beene given to Souldiers, as if they had beene Conquered. That they haue beene forced to contribute to imaginary companies of Souldiers, (perchance to foure or fiue) as if they had beene a compleat band. That the Commiſſaries haue aſſigned Quarters and paſſages vnto the Souldiers, without ever asking leaue of the Princes or Countries. That people haue beene tortured for their money, had their Cattell driven away, their houſes fired, and all Commerce driven out of their Country. That the Souldiers neither obſerved martiall diſcipline, nor morall honeſtie: neither keeping the Lawes, nor fearing God. That virgins and women haue beene raviſhed, vpon the high Altars. That if the weekely Contributions were not payd at the Commiſſaries abſolute pleaſure, the ſouldiers then ſpoyled the Country. The Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg* complaines, that notwithſtanding the King of *Sweden* had two parts of his Country (the old and the new *Mark*) yet was he forced to pay a full Contribution, for the whole Marquiſate. That himſelfe, by the Souldiers ſo long lying in his Country, was left ſo poore, that he was not able to entertaine a Garriſon for the defence of his owne Palace: and was faine to abridge even the neceſſary

 proui-

proviſions of his owne Table and family. That the Souldiers enterteyn'd by the *Proteſtants* for their owne defence, haue beene turn'd againſt them, to take away the Church Lands. That treble more Contributions haue beene rayſed againſt no enemy, then ever were when the *Turke* was in *Germany*. That when the Princes of the houſe of *Saxony*, as namely, *Altemberg*, *Weymar*, and *Colburg*, had excuſed themſelues of diſabilitie to pay each of them 1454. Dollars a moneth, which the Commiſſary *Oſſa* had required of them; then *Tilly* threatned to fetch 10000. Dollars a moneth out of them. That conſidering all this, they could perceiue nothing elſe, but that the Emperour had intended their vtter ruine: whereas he had dealt more gently with thoſe of his owne hereditary Dominions. That all this is moſt contrary vnto the Oath of the Emperour, and vnto the Lawes of the Empire: and for ſuch, hath beene complained vpon, by the ſeverall Electors and Princes; and by them proteſted againſt in the late *Dyet* of *Ratisbone*. Wherefore they now humbly petition to be relieved; proteſting otherwiſe, that they are no longer able to endure it: but ſhall be enforced to defend their perſons, their Conſciences, their Eſtates and Subjects. Reſolving notwithſtanding to continue their due loyaltie and obedience vnto the Emperour: humbly now deſiring a faire and a gracious Anſwere from him. *Lypſich*, *March* 18. 1631.

Their Concluſions publiſhed.

Their Concluſions were anſwerable vnto their Propoſitions.

1. That conſidering it was their ſinnes which deſerved theſe puniſhments; they command publike prayers to be made vnto Almightie God for the averting of theſe miſeries.

2. That meanes might be thought vpon, and a friendly Treatie appointed with the *Catholike Princes*; for removing of all jealouſies, and reſtoring of good termes and concord betwixt them, as for ſeaventie yeares before it had beene.

3. That when the time and place for this Treatie were once appointed; the *Proteſtants* ſhould there appeare a little before,

before, to prepare themselues what to say in it.

4. And the fayrelier to dispose both *Cæsar* and the *Catholikes* vnto their intentions; that their grievances should in humble manner be before-hand by Letter presented, both vnto the *Emperour*, and the three *Catholike Electors*.

5. That these grievances should in those Letters be pressed; to be contrary vnto the Emperors Oath, the Imperiall Lawes, the priviledges of the Princes, the honour and safetie of the Empire. That the warres would vndoe all, the insolencies of Commissaries and Souldiers were so insufferable, as that it stood neither with their Consciences, their safeties, nor their honours, to suffer themselues and Subjects, to be any longer thus abused: and that they would herevpon desire the benefit of the Emperours so often promised protection.

6. That seeing these greater and fuller Assemblies were both chargeable and tedious; they agreed that certaine Deputies should as necessitie required be in the names of all the rest appointed, both to treate and determine of what should seeme convenient for the Common cause.

7. They decree of levies of Souldiers (both of horse and foote) to be made in their severall Dominions and Divisions: without crossing the Constitutions of the Empire, or offence of any; and onely in their owne defence.

8. That whereas in a *Dyet* of the Empire held 1555. it had beene Decreed; how that neighbouring Princes should liue neighbourly, and if any oppressed others, the rest should relieue them: this relieſe they now promise one another; desiring that if in these troublesome times, the levies and other carriages could not possibly be every way agreeable to the Constitutions of the Empire, that it might not be interpreted to be done of purpose.

9. They decree the continuance of their loyaltie and obedience vnto his Imperiall Majestie.

10. They agree also vpon the proportion of the Levies.

Thus the *Elector* of *Saxony* engages himselfe to rayse six Regiments. *Brandenburg* three. The severall *Circles* of *Swa-*

ben, the *Rhine*, and *Franckenlandt*, three Regiments a peece: and the Circle of the *Lower Saxony* agreed to furniſh moneyes for the rayſing and paying of one Regiment. Each Regiment of foote was to be 3000. ſtrong: and of horſe 1000. And thus the *Dyet* being ended vpon *Palme Sunday* with a Sermon; *Saxony* diſplayes his *Defenſiue Banner*, beates vp his Drummes, begins his Levies: and ſo at their comming home, doe the reſt of the Princes.

Theſe Concluſions and Reſolutions of the *Proteſtants*, were not a little boggled at, at Court; did not ſlightly diſpleaſe the Emperour; and ſtartle the *Catholike Leaguers*, with their Adherents. The *Proteſtants* heare of it on both eares: For this, are they both by words and writings, both threatned, and reviled: yea their new League and ſtrength were by ſome *Confidents*, not a little ſcoffed and ſcorned at. But they that had beene vſed to hard deeds before, were ſufficiently hardned againſt fowle words now; they were not to be diſcouraged this way: they did their buſineſſe, and let the others talke their talkes. Things going thus on; it was by the middle of *May* every where perceived, How that theſe *Leaguers* of *Leipſich*, were now in very good earneſt. For now vpon the taking of *Magdenburg*, the *Proteſtants* ſtrongly ſuſpecting by the inhumane crueltie there vſed by the *Imperialiſts*; that it was not a heate of warre alone, but that there was a Coare of malice diſcovered in it: not an *Imperiall*, but a *Popiſh* ſpite, vnto that Citie aboue others; for having beene one of the firſt that harboured *Luther* and his Religion: they beginne to make it their owne caſe, and that for their Religions ſake, all they were likely not to be much better vſed. Some therefore of the neighbour Princes (thoſe namely of *Saxony* and *Swaben*) demaund of the Cities of *Vlmes* and *Memmingen*, &c. Scituate in *Swaben* by the River of *Danubius*, (which were of the *Proteſtant* League with them) to enterteyne for Garriſons ſome of theſe new levyed Forces. *Memmingen* conſents: but *Vlme* being a greater Citie, relyes vpon her owne ſtrength. Theſe things being done, Command is given by the Emperour vnto *Eggon* Count of

Furſtenberg,

Furstenberg, (appointed Generall for the Circle of *Swaben*) to imploy those 8000. (lately come out of *Italy*, after that the warres of *Mantua* were ended) together with some 8. or 10000. more, against those Townes aforesayd. *Furstenberg* presses so hard vpon *Memmingen*; that about the beginning of *Iune*, he enforceth it to renounce the new League, and to purchase the Emperors pardon, at the rate of 50000. *Florens* readie pay, and 25000. monethly Contribution. The *Protestants* League being now noysed abroad, and another meeting at the latter end of *May*, at the same *Leipsich* intended; thither come the Ambassadors of *England*, *Sweden*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*: There is the vniting of their forces with the King of *Sweden* propounded, but not concluded: onely the passage of *Wittemberg* heretofore denied him by *Saxony*, is now yeelded vnto, to be open for his Army. Mr. *Tilly* about the same time, dispeedes a message vnto *Saxony* with overtures of a peace; promising shortly to come himselfe with sufficient Commission to conclude it. This being suspected to be a plot, eyther to divert or stagger the resolution of the Duke, or a tricke to gaine time; and that *Tillyes* Commission might perchance be in his scabbard; the message was not accepted: notwithstanding that *Tilly* did in mid *Iune* following, come in person indeede, and at *Oldsleben* had treatie with the Dukes Ambassadors.

When this would not doe, and the Emperour by the Dukes second Letters (dated the day after the end of the late *Dyet*) vnderstanding the resolution of the *Leaguers*, which by their generall levies he perceived them readie to maintaine: And hearing withall, the King of *Sweden* to be victoriously already advanc't, quite through *Pomerland* and *Mecklenburg*, into some places of *Brandenburg*: out-thunders He his Imperiall *Bann* against the *Leipsich Leaguers*, dated at *Vienna*, *May* 14. peremptorily forbidding any place of the Empire, to grant either reliefe, passage, or place of quarter, muster, or rendezvous, vnto any of their forces: commanding every man, to destroy, kill, and persecute them as enemies: and the easier to dehort the *Leaguers*, his Majestie of-

The Emperours Proclamatiõ against them.

fers to releaſe them of their Oaths, taken in prejudice of him at *Leipſich*; and to grant pardon to as many as ſhould come in: vpon paine of death forbidding all their Subjects, eyther to contribute to their levies, or to ſerue vnder their Enſignes; but to turne both their moneyes and perſons towards the advancement of his Imperiall ſervice; promiſing the freedome of Conſcience and Eſtates to all that ſhould thus obey him.

Diverſe people are naturally afrayd of thunder: ſome of the *Leaguers* therefore, (and eſpecially the grave-headed Burgers in the richer Cities) began now to quake at the noyſe of this ſo hideous a Proclamation. Which feare of theirs, much coold their blouds, made them the leſſe zealous and warme in the reſolution. But he that hath not courage enough to fight, hath wit enough commonly to excuſe his cowardize: So fell it out here; diverſe of the backwardeſt palliating their owne remiſſeneſſe, with the newes they pretended to haue heard, of the mammering of the chiefe man in the action, the Duke of *Saxony*. And this had like to haue arreſted the whole Deſigne. *Saxony* hearing of all this, notwithſtanding he was at the inſtant hard layd at by *Hagen Muller* the Emperours Ambaſſadour, to come over to his Maiſter; yet (to prevent jealouſie) would he not ſo much as once ſpeake with him then at *Torgau*, but referred him for Audience over vnto his privie Councell.

Hagen Mullers Prepoſitions were theſe foure:

1. To conſult how the buſineſſe about the Church Lands might beſt be compounded.

2. How the inconveniences occaſioned by the Warres, might be eaſed.

3. That the agreement of *Leipſich* for ſtanding vpon their owne defence, might be Cancelled.

4. That he would adviſe how a peace might honorably be concluded with the *Swede*; and that the Duke would mediate it. The anſwere of the Dukes Councell is too long to inſert: and to be briefe, the Ambaſſadour returnes not well ſatisfied. Immediately hereupon, the Duke diſpatches his Letters vnto the ſeverall *Leaguers*: aſſuring them of his owne Conſtancy;

Conſtancy; and inviting them with all ſpeed, to haſten their preparations.

Theſe Letters of *Saxony* brought about the matter againe; and he, to ſhew that he meant to doe more then write Letters; layes ſure guardes vpon his owne Frontiers, ſome eight or ten thouſand men: proceeding warily hitherto, and all vpon the defenſiue. The *Proteſtant* Princes of *Swaben*, (which lye along the *Danubie*, betweene the Dukes of *Wirtenburg* and *Bavaria*) doe herevpon aſſemble at *Eſſingen*; reſolving to ſticke cloſe to the Articles of *Leipſich*: reenforcing their levies therevpon. And now the fayre City of *Norenberg* in the vpper *Palatinate*, returnes to her former reſolution; notwithſtanding the particular threatnings of the Emperour, to giue the ſpoyle of it vnto their great neighbour, the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Citie of *Strasburg* armes alſo: and the Citie of *Vlme*, encouraged by the new Adminiſtrator of *Wirtenburg*, Duke *Iulius*; refuſes to giue paſſage to the late troopes, comming that way out of *Italy*: and ſend three hundred Muſkettiers to ayde their neighbours of *Memmingen* againſt them.

The Landgraue of *Heſſen* (againſt whoſe Country, it was generally reported that *Tilly* would forthwith come; and that he was already for that purpoſe vpon his March as farre as *Saxony*) beſtirres himſelfe all this while; levies men, and fortifies his Frontiers. *Tilly* ſends, before he comes to him: and that theſe foure Demands.

Tillyes quarrell to Heſſen.

1. To pay the arrier of the contribution due vnto the Emperour.

2. To giue ſufficiently hoſtages or ſecuritie for the future. Directly profeſſing him eyther a friend or a foe, to the Emperour.

3. Immediately to caſhiere his Army.

4. To lay open his paſſages for the Emperours forces: to receiue Imperiall Garriſons into *Caſſell* and *Sichenheim*, and to giue quarter to fiue other Regiments.

Hard termes all. Vnto which the *Landgrave* returnes though a Negatiue, yet a modeſt anſwere. This way not ſpeeding;

ſpeeding; it ſeemes the way of practiſe and of trechery was attempted: for the *Landgraue* preſently vpon this, diſcovers ſome correſpondency enterteind by two or three of his owne chiefe Lords with *Tilly*, for the delivering vp his two chiefe Townes of *Caſſel* and *Sichenheim*; for which they are executed. *Tilly* after this in a rage ſends three ſeverall troupes into his Countrey: his owne intended expedition againſt him being diverted by newes of the King of *Sweden*.

All this while (namely vntill the latter end of *Iune*) was there no aſſurance of the *Proteſtant* Princes purpoſe to vnite with the King of *Sweden*: but they all ſtood vpon termes of neutralitie; kept their obedience vnto the Emperour, ſtanding onely vpon the Defenſiue; without once offering any Act of hoſtilitie, where they were not firſt provoked. *Saxony* had now 17000. foote, and 3000. horſe, all in a readineſſe. Vpon the ſame termes ſtands the Marqueſſe Elector of *Brandenburg*: who notwithſtanding the neere alliance betwixt the King of *Sweden* and himſelfe, (the King having married the Siſter of the ſayd Marqueſſe:) yet that he ſeemed farre enough from vniting with him, appeares by an action of his, which had like to haue coſt him dearely. The *Elector* denies a requeſt of the Kings for proviſion for his Army, (now in the *Brandenburghers* Country) and eſpecially for that the Marqueſſe now deſired his Towne of *Spandau* againe, which vpon ſome termes had at the firſt bin lent vnto the King. Which the King taking very vnkindly, (divers Circumſtances perchance occurring) all of a ſudden beſieges the Electors Towne of *Berlin*, bending his Canon vpon the very Pallace; threatning to pillage it. The difference is at length appeaſed by the *Electreſſe*; together with the promiſe of 30000. Ryx Dollars a moneth, and to haue the Towne of *Spandau* (*Cuſtrine* he alſo now againe deſired as before he had done, as ſome ſay) againe conſigned over vnto him as before, as a *Depoſitum* of aſſurance, for preventing of ſuch like vnkindneſſes in time to come. This done, the King about the middle of *Iune*, returnes from his Campe vnto *Stetin*; there to giue Audience vnto the *Ruſſian* Ambaſſadour, who

Vnkindneſſe betwixt *Sweden* and *Brandenburg*. Of which ſee more in the Actions of the King of *Sweden*.

who brought him an offer from his Emperour, of a great power of money towards the maintenance of his Warres: requeſting on the other ſide, ſome Commanders of the King to guide his Army againſt the *Pole*; for which Army he alſo deſired paſſage through the Kings Country.

About the beginning of *Iuly*, the *Crabats*, it ſeemes, being the fore-runners of thoſe 18000. that had ſome while layn about *Vlme* and *Memmingen*; paſſe over the *Danuby* into the Duke of *Wirtenburgs* Country; where they plunder and ſpoyle 11. Townes and Villages: whom, Duke *Iulius*, (newly choſen Adminiſtrator) meeting withall; what with his owne forces, and what with three Companies of foote and two Cornets of horſe now ſent vnto him from *Vlm*, vtterly defeates three troopes of their horſe. Thus farre this new Adminiſtrator did brauely. But the reſt of the Emperours Army vnder *Furſtenberg*, (having now brought *Memmingen* vnder Contribution) paſſing the *Danuby* after their *Crabats*; firſt take in *Reitling*, an Imperiall Towne, Duke *Iulius* looking on: who no ſooner perceiues them to make towards his Army, now lying at *Tubing*; but his heart preſently fayles him; and vpon the ſecond day of *Iuly* being Friday, ſhamefully yeelds to the ſigning of theſe Articles, which *Furſtenberg* preſents vnto him.

The *Proteſtant* partie weakned, by the revolt of *Wirtenburg*.

1. To diſclaime the *Dyet* of *Leipſich*; to yeeld obedience vnto the Emperour: and as Hoſtages thereof, to reſigne vp his brothers widow and Children, into the Emperours protection.

2. To diſmiſſe his Army: giving leaue to thoſe that would to ſerue the Emperour: the reſt to ſweare, never to beare Armes againſt the Emperour.

3. To giue Billet and Proviſions vnto the Imperiall Armie.

Tubing is hereupon yeelded vnto the Emperour: the fortune and example whereof, is followed by other Cities, both in that Dukedome, and throughout *Swaben*; & by *Vlme* among the reſt. The terror ſtrikes one way, as farre as *Heilbron* in the ſame Dutchy; within halfe a dayes journey of the

lower *Palatinate*; who thereupon diſmiſſe their forces: and on the other ſide, the Citie of *Norimberg* quakes, in the vpper *Palatinate*. In ſo much, as (in a manner) all *Swaben* and *Franckenland*, fall off from the *League*, and come vnder the Emperours devotion.

Heſſen ſtands firme.

The Landtgraue of *Heſſen* remaines firme for all this: and Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon-Weymar* now peicing in with him; *Heſſen* reyſes a new Fort nere *Iſenach*: and ſome of *Tillyes* Vant-curriers having now preſſed vpon him as farre as the River *Warra*, yea and aſſaulted his new Fort (though with ſome loſſe:) he withdrawes his troupes diſperſed before vpon his Frontiers; and formes a ſtanding Campe betwixt *Caſſell* and *Eſchwegen*. Wee are by this time come into the middle of *Iuly*. About which ſeaſon the Duke of *Saxony* (now much moved with the revolt of *Wirtenburg* & *Schwaben*;) cals his Parliament together to *Dreſden*: and propounds theſe ſeaven Articles vnto them.

Saxony calls a Parliament.

1. Whether he were beſt to ſend any body to appeare for him, at the approaching *Dyet* of *Franckford*?

2. What to anſwere the Emperour, now preſſing him to renounce the Concluſions of *Leipſich*?

3. How to behaue himſelfe towards *Tilly*, who now began to vſe hoſtilitie towards thoſe in *Duringen*?

4. How to anſwere the Duke of *Bavaria*, demanding him to lay downe Armes?

5. How to pay, and where to quarter their owne Souldiers.

6. Whether they were beſt to joyne with a certaine great Prince, or not.

They meane the King of *Swede*, though they thinke not good to name him.

7. What were beſt to be done, for the relieving of the Biſhopricke of *Magdenburg*?

What their reſolution was, appeares by the ſucceſſe: for within ten dayes after this, (that is, vpon *Auguſt* the ſecond) the Duke with his Feild-Marſhall *Arnheym*, Muſters 13000. foote, and 5000. horſe; provides his Pioners and Carriages; Commands all to be readie to March at an houres warning; fortifies *Leipſich*; goes to viſite his Frontiers; and to the

Towne

Towne of *Torgaw* eſpecially: which being a frontier towne, next vnto the Emperours Countrey of *Luſatia*; and ſcituate alſo vpon the River *Elve*; lay very fit therefore both to cleare that Streame, and to hinder *Tillyes* further intruſions that way; who lay all along vpon it, betwixt *Magdenburg* & *Saxony*. The Landtgrave of *Heſſen* (againe) about mid-*Auguſt*, flyes out vpon his vnfriendly neighbours, in the Biſhopricke of *Hierſfelt*: brings that vnder contribution; but meddles not with the Clergie. *Tilly* now writes vnto the Landtgraves people; complaining of their Maiſters purpoſes to joyne with the enemy. The Landtgrave goes on for all this; and Marches vp into the Biſhopricke of *Fulda*. To oppoſe him, is *Fugger* firſt ſent vp with an Army, ſayd to be ſome 16. or 18000. men: which for the ſervice of the *Catholike Leaguers*, had beene before times rayſed in the lower *Saxony* and the *Palatinate*. Within a while after whom, *Altringer* followes; with ſome two Regiments more: which had heretofore layn about *Straſburg* & *Hagenaw*. Some of *Tillyes* alſo lye vpon him about the River *Werra*: and thus hath *Heſſen* his hands full. Privately therefore goes he over vnto the King of *Swedens* Camp at *Werben*; Some overtures of vniting are (perchance) there made: and he returnes home from the King, with three Regiments of horſe, and one of foote; with an able Commander over them: all lent vnto him for his aſſiſtance. *Brandenburg*, about *Auguſt* 22. ſends Ambaſſadors vnto *Saxony*: and *Saxony* about the ſame time, ſends privately vnto the King of *Sweden*. And now (perchance) were the overtures to the future vnion firſt agreed vnto on the Dukes part: in which vntill then he not declared himſelfe. And thus appeares by a word of his, ſpoken about this time at *Torgau*, namely; That if he thought his owne ſhirt knew his intention, he would teare it. Which reſervedneſſe of his notwithſtanding, there appeared (ever ſince the late Parliament of *Dreſden*) a good inclination and confidence in the Duke towards the King. So that notwithſtanding his ſhirt knew nothing, yet this may we gueſſe to haue beene the great ſecret: That if ſo be the Emperor would not come

Of *Heſſen* againe.

Fugger and *Altringer* ſent againſt him.

off, or did ſo fiercely preſſe vpon him to take in his Country: that then, if the King of *Sweden* by his joyning with him were likely to prevaile; he would rather ſide in with him, then ſuffer himſelfe to be over-run by the Emperour. And that he carried a more private good affection vnto the King, then he thought it convenient as yet to diſcover; appeares by his deſiring of ſome expert Commanders of the King, (and Colonell *Teuffell* by name) to leade his Army: But this did not the King at this preſent yeeld vnto; becauſe that had rather engaged the King vnto him, then him vnto the King. Surely it is, that *Teuffell* was not ſent vnto the Duke; he being one of thoſe that were on the Kings ſide, ſlaine afterwards in the great Battle.

Where the Battell was after fought.

About the twentieth of *Auguſt*, *Saxony* Muſters his forces vpon that fayre plaine or heath by *Leipſich*: namely, ſixtie Companies of foote; (ten Companies to every Regiment) and 1000. Muſkettiers for his owne guards. Horſe 4300. (of which 1000. to a Regiment) and 400. for his owne guards: over and aboue all which, were 1400. Curiaſſiers or men at Armes. Theſe be the names of his chiefe Commanders. On Foote, *Swalbach*, Generall of the Artillery. *Arnheim*, Feild-Marſhall. *Hans-George* of *Solms*, *Glitzwick*, *Looſer*, *Star-Schedel*, Colonels. Of the Cavallery theſe. The Duke of *Saxon Altenberg*, Generall *Bindtorp*, Sergeant Major. *Hoftkerk*, *Steinau*, Colonels. *Dove*, Lieutenant Generall. All theſe troupes being thus Muſtered; they were preſently furniſhed with 400. Wagons of Proviſion and Ammunition, and ſixe peices of Ordnance, out of the Dukes Magazine. While the Armie ſtayes thereabouts, there is firſt a Trumpet ſent from *Tillyes* Hoaſt, to demaund paſſage of the Duke. He returning with no ſatisfying anſwere; *Tilly* ſends theſe foure Propoſitions vnto him; to which he muſt haue a ſudden and a *Categoricall* Anſwere.

1. Whether he would, like other Princes, yeeld vp his forces to the Emperour; to beate *Sweden* out of the Countrey?

2. And as a Subject furniſh the Imperiall Army with proviſions?

3. And

3. And renounce the Conclusions of *Leipsich*?

4. And restore the Church Lands?

To all which, the Duke about the beginning of *September*, returnes not onely a negatiue resolution; but aggravated it also with some Circumstances of vnkindnesse offered him by the Emperour, in requitall of his so many good services; bemoaning himselfe, of the vntrustinesse of the *Catholike Princes*: yea even before the Emperours Ambassador then with him, he protests; that they should not finde a Duke of *Wirtenberg* of him, he would not suffer himselfe to be led by the nose: but bade the Ambassador tell his Lord and spare not, that he would liue and dye in defence of the Conclusions of *Leipsich*. This resolution in the Duke, was quickned (perchance) by the *French* Ambassador, then with him; so that having discovered himselfe thus farre against the Emperor, he sees no way but eyther to be vndone by *Tilly*, or to joyne with *Sweden*. And now while the termes of vniting might be concluded with that King (to meete with whom, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburg*, himselfe the Tuesday following goes vnto *Wittemberg*) the Duke thinkes of keeping out of *Tilly*. Having gotten intelligence therefore, that the Count of *Furstenberg* (now joyned with *Tilly*) was by him sent as a Vantcurryer vnto *Hall*; and that he made provisions of Bridges: the Duke fearing, that his meaning was to passe over the Rivers of *Sala* and *Mulda*, and so to make for the Citie *Torgau* vpon the *Elve*; which Towne lying betwixt *Leipsich* and *Wittemberg*, had he once made himselfe Maister of; he had quite cut off the King of *Sweden*, from ever comming into *Saxony*; and had gotten all the commaund of the *Elve* besides. *Saxony* therefore suspecting *Furstenbergs* intention; rises with his whole Army from about *Leipsich*, and makes with all speed towards *Torgau*: both to secure that, and there to meete with the King of *Sweden* also. By this time was the sayd Kings Army drawne downe as farre as *Wirtemberg*; himselfe is now at the Consultation of *Torgau*: *Brandenburg* was already joyned with him: and nothing hindred *Saxonyes* vniting too; but some termes partly of cau-

tion, and partly of honour; whether he were to yeeld the whole Command of his owne Army vnto the King, or not? Which the King abſolutely deſiring, and the Duke making ſome Objections againſt, the Vnion was the longer a concluding.

Well! if *Saxony* will not joyne, *Tillyes* haſt (for he longs to be beaten) ſhall quicken his ſlowneſſe. For no ſooner doth *Furſtenberg* perceiue his deſigne for *Torgau* defeated; but thitherward marches he. *Tilly* was now come vp to him. With 3000. foote, and 1500. horſe therefore, firſt he takes in *Murſenburg*, *Tilly* going towards *Welſenfels*, and other places about *Leipſich*: blocking vp by this meanes, even the Towne it ſelfe. And now there was no remedie; *Saxony* muſt joyne, or be loſt: vpon the 14. of *September* therefore he thoroughly condeſcends vnto the King of *Swedens* Propoſitions. And thus haue wee brought *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* into the King of *Swedens* Army. Turne wee backe againe vnto that King, to ſhew by what degrees and approaches, he gained thus farre into the Empire.

RELATING

THE PROCEEDINGS

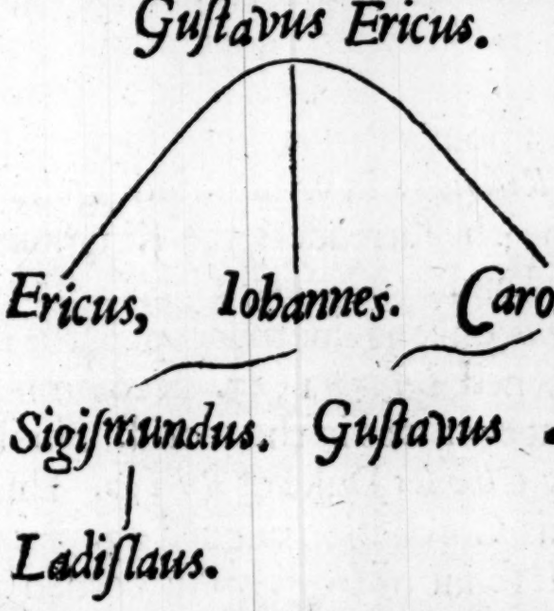
Of that PRINCE, from his first Landing in GERMANY 1630. vntill his great Victory over TILLY.

HISTORICALLY DIGESTED.

For the Readers better vnderstanding of the King of *Sweden*, wee haue here given you his *Majesties Pedigree*: which may serve in stead of an Introduction.

THE PEDIGREE

Of the High and Mightie Prince *Gustavus Adolphus*, by the Grace of God, King of *Swedens, Goths*, and *Vandals*, great Prince of *Finland*, Duke of *Esthonia* and *Carelia*, Lord of *Ingria*.



GVSTAVVS ERICVS, first of that name and bloud, was one of those six Hostages sent vnto (that scarce to be paralleld Tyrant) *Christiern* King of *Denmark*, *Anno* 1518. Which Hostages he having gotten into his power, most perfidiously reteined as his prisoners; carrying them away with him

1. Briefe notes vpon this *Pedigree*.

him into *Denmarke*. But *Guſtavus* having found both favour and libertie one day to goe a hunting; diſguiſes himſelfe, and eſcapes: after many dangers arriving in his owne Countrey, *Anno* 1520. About which time the ſayd King *Chriſtiern* contrary vnto his promiſe made vnto the *Swedes* vpon their ſubmiſſion, vpon which he promiſed to remit all offences: beyond all examples of Chriſtianitie within foure dayes after his Coronation, cauſes all the Nobilitie, Gentry, Biſhops, Counſellors, and prime Citizens of the Kingdome of *Sweden*, to be eyther hang'd or beheaded: the ſtreetes of *Stockholme*, where he was Crowned, to runne with bloud; the carcaſſes to lye three dayes vnburied, and then to be burned, &c. Amongſt the number of the maſſacred, the Father of *Guſtavus* was one. When *Guſtavus* had once heard of this hideous newes; he, having that winter time gathered ſome ſmall company together, exciteth the *Swedes* to vindicate their Countryes libertie. In the valourous ſucceſſe whereof, himſelfe having beene a chiefe Author, is in the yeare 1523. by conſent of all the States of the Country, choſen King. He thus elected, refuſeth to be Crowned: contenting himſelfe onely with the title of *Governour*. By authoritie of which dignitie, *Anno* 1527. he ſummons a Parliament; where he propounds the *Reformation* of *Religion*: in which finding much oppoſition, and little hope; he ſurrenders the Kingdome vnto the States againe. The Land thus brought into a ſtreight, humbly beſeech *Guſtavus*, once againe to accept of the Kingdome. Thus was he Crowned *Anno* 1527. becomming the firſt *Proteſtant* King that ever was in the world. This ſame yeare was *Rome* taken by *Charles* Duke of *Burbon*. This *Guſtavus* from the time of his Coronation reigned 33. yeares.

Ericus, the eldeſt ſonne of *Guſtavus* ſucceeded his Father. *Anno* 1560. who reigning eight yeares, dyes without Iſſue.

Iohn, the ſecond ſonne of *Guſtavus* ſucceeded his Brother, *Anno* 1568. Reigned 24. yeares. His onely Iſſue was *Sigiſmund*; choſen in his Fathers life time (*viz.* 1587.) King of *Poland*, and is yet living.

Sigiſmund,

Sigiſmund, King of *Poland* ſucceeded his Father *Iohn* in the Kingdome of *Sweden*, *Anno* 1594. He tooke an Oath to maintaine the priviledges of the Kingdome, to admit no other Religion then that of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*; and to bring in no Strangers. Which Oath he palpably now violating; firſt, by going about to alter the Religion; then by endevouring to enſlaue *Sweden*, by making it to be a *Province* of the Kingdome of *Poland*, *Anno* 1599. he was in a full aſſembly of the States of *Sweden*, rejected and depoſed: and his Sonne *Ladiſlaus* (then an Infant) choſen in his place: But with this Condition, If within ſix moneths he were ſent into *Sweden*, there to be brought vp in the Proteſtant Religion. 4

Ladiſlaus, Sonne of *Sigiſmund*, not being ſent into *Sweden* according to the Condition of his Election, loſt his title vnto the Kingdome. And 5

Charles Duke of *Suderman*, the third and youngeſt Sonne of *Guſtavus*, & the deliverer of his Country from the oppreſſion of the *Polacks*, was choſen King, in the yeare 1601. 6

Guſtavus Adolphus, the Sonne of *Charles*, ſucceeded his Father *Anno* 1612. being the preſent, and hitherto the ſucceſſe-full *Aſſertor* of the *Germane* libertie.

Here may it fayrely be obſerved. 1. That all the poſteritie of *Guſtavus* (which with himſelfe are ſeaven in number) were eyther Kings, or elected to a Kingdome, vnto the third and fourth generation. The laſt whereof, and the ſcaventh in order, is the preſent *Guſtavus*. 2. Obſerue. That *Guſtavus Ericus*, the Grandfather of this *Guſtavus Adolphus*, obtained a Kingdome by delivering his Country from the Tyranny of the *Danes*: *Charles* his Father, for delivering it from the *Pole*. In which heroicall diſpoſition of his Anceſtors, *Guſtavus Adolphus* now ſucceeds his Father and Grandfather, in vndertaking this preſent warre, for the aſſerting of *Germany*, from the preſſures of the preſent Emperour. 3. Beſides that this Prince is deſcended of a Family of *Deliverers*; there ſeemes to be another *Omen* in his Stile, as well as in his *Pedigree*: he writes himſelfe King of the *Goths* and *Vandals*; 7

which Nations haue once heretofore beene fatall vnto the Empire.

This braue Prince having in the yeare 1619. had firſt a warre with the *Pole*, and then a *Peace*; was by the complaints & invitations of the *Germane* Princes, the next yeare brought over into the Empire. You haue before heard of the miſeries of *Germany*: and yet had the *Proteſtant Princes* in their *Dyet* of *Leipſich* beene modeſt in their *Remonſtrance*: they had not told you all. *Straleſundt* and *Stetin*, *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerland*, were ſo heavily oppreſſed, ſo ſorely over-layd, that they had not breath enough left, to be heard ſigh ſo farre as the Emperours Court. A ſound (we know) is vſually conveighed further along the water, then over-land: which may (perchance) be one of the reaſons, why their complaints are ſooner liſtned vnto in *Sweden*, then at *Vienna*. Theſe Maritime people therefore finding no reliefe aſhoare; are forced to fetch their ſuccours, whence they vſually did their Merchandize, out of the *Baltick* Sea. The King of *Sweden* is allyed with *Bogiſlaus* Duke of *Stetin*; and with *Iohn Albert* and his brother, Dukes of *Mecklenburg*: is confederate with *Straleſundt* and *Pomerland*; and therefore likelieſt to be their Friend. His ſafetie much depended vpon theirs: had the Emperour beene Maiſter of thoſe Ports and Sea-coaſts; he would neither haue beene ſo fayre a Merchant to him; and might withall haue proved a more dangerous and over-maiſterly a neighbour. Againe, this King now having a good Peace, had therfore the better leiſure. His Army being not yet caſhier'd, the reliefe would not altogether be ſo chargeable. His experience in the warres being great, his fame (now after the beating of the *Pole*, and two Imperiall Armies in *Pruſſia*,) more; he was alſo thought to be the ableſt to deliver them. His Majeſtie therefore being by the pittifull and redoubled complaints of his Allyes, his Confederates, his Neighbours, ſollicited over and over againe to come in vnto their reſcue; that this bare invitation of his Friends might not be cenſured for a plot betwixt them, or not to be cauſe enough for his comming: loe, he is even puld over by his enemies provocations.

cations. But for the greater Authoritie with the Reader, we will giue you the juſt Apologie of that Prince: the preſſing reaſons for his moving with an Army into *Germany*, himſelfe having cauſed to be Printed: the Arguments whereof, we here abbreviate into Propoſitions.

The King of *Swedens* Apology & complaints.

His Majeſtie firſt proteſts; That he had not ſtirr'd at all; no not though he had often beene warned to looke vnto himſelfe: nor would he take any notice of it, vntill ſome affront or maine occaſion of quarrell, had beene actually offered by the Emperour. That having beene by his oppreſſed neighbours and Confederates invited vnto their reliefe, he for a long time rather expected the Emperours goodneſſe towards the Subjects of *Germany*, then deſired to intereſſe himſelfe againſt him, with whom he ſo much deſired the continuation of Amitie. That the quarrell was firſt begunne by the Emperour; who in the late warres of *Pruſſia* betwixt *Sweden* and *Poland*, had prohibited the King of *Sweden* to make any Levies of men, or proviſion of victualls or Ammunition in *Germany*, apparently granting the ſame libertie vnto his enemy the King of *Poland*. That the Emperour himſelfe had heretofore ſent two ſeverall Armies vnder his own Enſignes into *Pruſſia*, in ayde of the *Pole* his enemy: the firſt in the yeare 1627. vnder the Command of the Duke of *Holſteyn*; and the ſecond, ſent 1630. was conducted by *Arnheim*, Marſhall of the Feild vnto *Walſtein*. That his Curryer ryding Poſt with his packetts, hath beene ſtayed; his Letters vnto *Bethlem Gabor* opened, and falſe Copies publiſhed of them. That his Ambaſſadours haue beene ſlighted; not admitted to Audience; not vouchſafed anſwere; forbidden to ſtay in *Germany*. That vpon his ſeeking of peace, by mediation of the King of *Denmarke*, he obtained nothing but affronts and delayes: and that writing to the Colledge of *Electors*, then aſſembled at *Lubeck*, 1629. he found in their anſweres by their Letters, the maine poynt of the buſines not once toucht vpon: and ſo no remedie that way neyther. That the poore Towne of *Straleſundt* (notwithſtanding it had no way wronged the Emperour, and had received *Aſſecurations* and

Walſtein was ſayd to haue given *Arnheim* his Commiſſion in theſe words: *Arnheim*, goe take 10000. men; you muſt beat the King of *Sweden* out of *Pruſſia*: and if you cannot doe it, tell him that *Walſtein* will come.

promiſes of protection from him) yet had it beene blockt vp by the Duke of* *Freidlandt*; and the Iſland of *Rugen* lying in the Sea right againſt it, taken by the ſayd *Freidlandt*. That the Towne and Iland aforeſaid, his Confederates, had often complained vnto him of this injuſtice, and deſired his peacefull mediation firſt, and his Armed aſſiſtance afterwardes. That conſidering how things ſtood betwixt the Emperour and himſelfe, it much concerned him not to ſuffer that Iſland and Towne, to be poſſeſſed by his enemies: ſeeing they lye ſo commodiouſly for the commaund of the *Balticke* Sea; and ſo dangerouſly for infeſting of the Coaſts of *Sweden*, which be right againſt it. That the Emperour had actually moleſted thoſe Coaſts with ſhipping; which he had newly gotten from *Dantzick* and other *Hanſe* Townes thereabouts: had hindered the *Swediſh* trade, and merchandizing vpon the Coaſts of *Germany*: taken his Shippes by repriſall at Sea; layd *imbargoes* vpon them to arreſt them in the Ports and Havens: and had purpoſed to make the *Sound* and Sea thereabouts, to be the ſeate of their pyracies; to the vtter vndoing of the *Swediſh* trade that way, and the great moleſtation of all Nations that trafficke in thoſe Seas. That in ayding of *Straleſundt*, he had done no more then the King of *Denmark* had done before him: who had lent them a garriſon; which vpon the agreement of *Denmarke* with the Emperour, the Towne had been enforced to diſcharge (the King vpon ſome occaſions being now become their enemy) and that not till then, had he taken the Towne vnder his protection. That his owne comming with an Army into the bounds of the Empire, was vnder publicke proteſtation of no hoſtilitie meant vnto the Empire, or perſon of the Emperour. That his comming was principally to relieue that diſtreſſed Prince his Coſin and Confederate, the Duke of *Stetin* and *Pomeren*, miſerably at that time, and ſo for three yeares had beene, injuriouſly oppreſſed by the Emperour. That he was not onely ingaged by ancient Allyances and Confederacies, to ayde the ſtate of *Pomerland* thus diſtreſſed, ſpoyled, taken, and diſarmed; but it concern'd him alſo in poynt of State and good

* *Walſtein.*

good policie, not to ſuffer his enemy to be Maiſter of thoſe Coaſts of the *Baltick* Sea; whence he might at pleaſure infeſt *Sweden*, and at leiſure and opportunitie invade it. That his League with the ſayd Duke, was *Defenſiue* onely: and not for any *offenſiue* warre againſt the Emperour. That in recovering of the Ile of *Rugen*, he had rather fayrely turn'd out, then beaten out, the *Imperialiſts*. That the end of his comming, was no more then the reliefe of *Straleſundt* and *Pomerlandt*; and the ſecuring of his owne Dominions of *Sweden*: too neere vnto which he perceived the Emperour to be now encroaching, with no good intention. That if peace and ſafetie might on thoſe parts be aſſured, he would no further enter into the Empire.

Theſe Complaints, Aggrievances, and Provocations of the King of *Sweden*, were in fayre and reſpectfull manner, by Letters firſt preſented vnto the Emperour: and when that courſe brought no redreſſe, then for juſtification of his proceedings, and by way of Apologie, were the Circumſtances enlarged, and the whole Printed, for the world to judge vpon: and that all indifferent Readers might there receiue an Accompt of the Cauſes, which at length conſtrained him to mooue with an Army into *Germany*.

Theſe Reaſons much ſatisfied the world, made the pretence of his comming fayre. And that the enterprize of this great Champion of the *Germane* Libertie, might bring Credit with it, as well as Strength; both rumored and feared every where in the Empire it was, that diverſe other potent Princes were with him intereſſed in the Action: and that there was a private Vnion made betwixt *England*, *France*, *Ruſſia*, *Sweden*, *Venice*, and *Holland*, (all then at difference with the Princes of the houſe of *Auſtria*) and that *He* was the Head of the Vnion. The preſumption for this ſuſpition was, that the Ambaſſadours of theſe Princes were obſerved lately to haue beene together in his Camp; and beleeved to haue communicated both Counſells and Intelligence with him. How much redoubted his comming was, appeares by the preparations made againſt him, in the places neereſt vn-

The Emperours preparations againſt him.

to his Landing. The Townes of *Pomerland* and its neighbour *Brandenburg*, were full of *Imperiall* Garriſons. In *Mecklenburg* was the new intruded Duke *Walſtein*, and his forces. In *Sileſia* were all thoſe Bridges and paſſages vpon the River *Oder* next vnto *Brandenburg*, ſtopt vp, mannd and fortified, about the beginning of *Iune* 1630. To make good the Bridge of *Deſſaw* vpon the *Elve*, (which was the paſſage towards *Magdenburg*:) are fourſcore Companies of Horſe and Foote ſent downe from *Swartzenburg*, *Coburg*, and other places. Into *Pomerland* are there more Forces ſent out of *Magdenburg*. *Torquato Conti* was now appointed Generall of the *Imperiall* Forces in *Pomerland*. He and Colonell *Hatzfelt* are very preſſing with the Duke of *Stetin*, abſolutely to deliver them vp the paſſages of *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen* vpon the *Oder*: which it ſeemes that they wrung out of him. The King of *Sweden*, finally hath no Towne to friend but the diſtreſſed *Straleſundt* onely, where he might ſafely Land his Forces. Much for the Kings advantage perchance it made,

The Kings advantages.

and the leſſe reſiſtance he found; that *Walſtein*, who had heretofore domineerd in thoſe parts, and who had left thoſe troopes there which the King now found engarriſoned; was now out of the way; and that *Torquato Conti*, a man not beloved, then commaunded in thoſe parts. *Walſtein* was about the time of the Kings firſt cõming eyther buſied about his new Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, or elſe waiting at *Memmengen* by *Regenſpurg*, to receiue a new Commiſſion to goe Generall againſt the *French*: and vpon the Princes of the Empires ſore complaining againſt him, he was by the Emperour (as you haue heard) quite diſcharged of his Armie. *Tilly* was not yet come ſo high vp, ſince the warres with *Denmarke*. Of *Pappenheim* we heare not thereabouts, till *October* following. Plainly, the King of *Swedens* great advantage it was, that he was too much ſlighted by the Emperour: who though he fortified places, yet did he not time enough employ any of his great Captaines againſt him. And that the Emperour abuſed himſelfe too much, in too much ſlighting the King; appeares by his Anſwere vnto the Duke of *Saxo-*

nyes

nyes Letters, in *Auguſt* giving him intelligence how farre the King was alreadie advanced in *Pomerland*. Which was; *how that himſelfe was ſo well provided for him, that he was confident "to ſcatter any power of the enemy*. A deſpiſed enemy we haue "by experience ſeene to haue made fowle worke: and God "moſtly workes by ſuch deſpiſed meanes, that himſelfe may "therein be obſerved to be *the Lord of Hoſts*. Further then this, wee will neither *Comment* nor *Devine*.

Before the Kings ſetting foote within the Empire, he in *Aprill* ſends forth his gracious Declaration of his intent to maintaine *Straleſundt*, &c. Which the Emperour might well take for a Herald at Armes to proclaime his comming, and ſo prevent it; and not complaine afterwards (as he did) *that he ſtoale in vpon him*. His *Majeſtie* having thus declared himſelfe for *Straleſundt*, makes his firſt warre for the freeing of that. A ſmall Iland there is in the *Baltick* Sea within ſome halfe league off *Straleſundt*, called *Rugen*. A ragged ſquare plot it is, ſome ſeaven Dutch leagues over. This Ile being a Principalitie of the Duke of *Pomerlands*; was (like other of his Lands) rather infeſted now, then guarded, by the *Imperialiſts*. That the King therefore might cleare that Ile, and his owne way both at once; and leave no enemy to trouble his Landing, or to come vpon his backe; he giues order before his owne ſetting forth of *Stockholme* (the chiefe Citie of *Sweden*) to haue that Iland begunne withall. About mid-*Aprill* therefore, did the people of *Straleſundt*, aſſiſted with ſome 18. ſhippes of *Sweden* (which had wintered in the *Pilau*, and other Ports thereby) prepare to fall vpon that, and *Hiddenzee* another little Ilet hard-by on the North-weſt: both which being open places, were by the end of *May* well cleared of the *Imperialiſts*. One indifferent ſtrong Sconce by *Brandiſhagen* vpon *Rugen* there is, into which the *Imperialiſts* betooke themſelues; not ſo eaſie to be taken as the reſt. Theſe of *Straleſundt* therefore now newly ſtrengthned from *Sweden*; vpon the 17.th of *Iune* following, with 3000. foote and foure troupe of horſe, reſolue to ſet vpon the Fort. Marching vp therefore from the old Ferry into the Ile,

The Ile of *Rugen* taken.

Ile, they in Battle array ſhowe themſelues before the Fort: twelue great Shallops and two Gallyes, well mand and furniſht with ſhot, in the meane time beſieging them by water. The Fort perceiving this, by a reſolute Sally labour to hinder their Landing: but the *Swediſh* diſcharging eight peices of Ordnance from their Boats amongſt them, quickly make them to retyre. Landing being thus gained, and their batteries raiſed; they readily diſmount the enemies Canon, and put him from his Ordnance. The 18. day, the *Swediſh* Generall demaunds vp the Fort: their anſwere was, to defend it to the laſt drop of bloud. The next morning, there was from *Brandiſhagen* (which lyes over againſt the Fort) a boate of freſh water ſent vnto their reliefe. The *Swediſh* Shallops giue fire apace vpon the Boate; in reſcue of it, doth the Garriſon ſally out: a great ſmoake ariſing from their ſhooting in the skirmiſh, is by the winde carryed full into the Fort; the *Swediſh* apprehending the advantage, fall pell mell vpon it, getting among the ſallyers into the Fort, ere ever they were aware of it. Thus was it taken without the loſſe of one man. The *Swediſh* being Maiſters of the peice, put all to the ſword whom the next day they found in Armes. Two hundred priſoners they tooke; ſix peices of Ordnance; ſixtie barrels of Bisket; much Beere and proviſions.

The Fort of *Brandiſhagen* taken.

Whileſt theſe things were there a doing, his *Majeſtie* is in his owne Countrey buſie about imbarking his men. Some 12000. brought he out of *Sweden* with him, for ſo many were ſeene march: His Fleete was about ſome hundred and thirtie Shippes of all ſorts. With theſe having beene fiue weekes at Sea, (whereof a whole moneth in one place) he came to an Anchor neare the Iland of *Rugen*, which lyes a mile diſtant from one of the mouthes of the River *Oder* called *Pennemundt*. Immediately hereupon, his *Majeſtie* gaue order for the Landing of the Foote or Infantery: which was done in great Sloopes or flat bottomd Boates, provided for that purpoſe; whereof each one would well carry an hundred Souldiers, with two Feild-peices. His *Majeſtie* himſelfe in perſon landed firſt, at that Dorp or Village in the Ile

The King of *Sweden* lands.

of

of *Vſedome*, called *Pennemundt*; being at that preſent waited vpon by two *Swediſh* Earles, that were brethren, Grave *Neeles* and Grave *Ioachim* by name. Next him were landed Colonel *Lillie*, Colonel *Cag*, and Colonel *Hanſſon*, all *Swediſh*, with their Regiments. Next to them Landed the Lord *Reay* Colonel; together with Colonel *Spence* and Colonel *Magdongall*, with their three *Scottiſh* Regiments. Laſt of all landed the Lord *Falkenberg*, Lord Marſhall of his *Majeſties* houſehold; together with Colonel *Hall*, and Colonel *Derickſon*, with their three Regiments of *High-Dutch-men*. All theſe eleven foreſayd Regiments, were landed and entrenched before day-light. Vpon the ſecond of *Iuly*, after the Souldiers had a little repoſed and refreſhed themſelues; his *Majeſtie* commaunded the Canon, baggage, and victualls to be landed; and becauſe the Army had beene ſo long at Sea, he thought it expedient to reſt them there for two dayes; in which ſpace he landed his Cavalry or Horſe alſo.

The Ile of *Vſedome* taken.

This Ile of *Vſedome* where the King was new landed, is ſcituate not farre from *Straleſundt*, and to the South-eaſt of it, towards *Stetin*: betwixt the *Baltick* Sea on the North, the mouth of the *Oder* (which from the River *Pene* diſemboguing into it, is called *Penemundt*,) on the Weſt; the great freſh Lake called the *Friſchhaff* on the South, and the Ile of *Wollin* on the Eaſt. Vpon the fourth of *Iuly*, twelue troupes of the Kings Horſe, together with three thouſand Muskettiers, went out vpon a partie; the King himſelfe commanding them. They marched vpwards three miles into the Ile of *Vſedome*; where they ſaw diverſe troopes of the enemies, but all of them ranne away. The 5.th and 6.th dayes were ſpent in hearing of Ambaſſadors, from the Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, *Pomeren*, and the Towne of *Straleſundt*. On the 7.th day, his *Majeſtie* leaving Colonel *Knip-howſen*, then Sergeant Major Generall, with two Regiments of foote to defend the workes at *Penemundt*; with the reſt of the Army paſſing over the water on the Weſt ſide of the Ile; marches vp to the Towne of *Wolgaſt*. Here had the enemy a ſtrong Sconce on the water-ſide, directly againſt the Caſtle vpon the

Ile of *Vſedome*: which Sconce, his *Majeſtie* thought fitteſt to be firſt aſſaulted. As he marched towardes this Caſtle, the *Crabats* falling out, begun the Skirmiſh with the Kings Horſe: who being preſently ſeconded by the foote, conſtrained the *Crabats* to giue ground with great loſſe. Thoſe of them which were not killed in the fight, making great haſt vnto the River, by which they thought to ſwimme over vnto the Caſtle; were all miſerably drowned. Thoſe within the Sconce, thus perceiving their fellowes misfortune; in great haſt retyred into their boates: where being hardly charged by the Kings men, the moſt of them were alſo drowned. Their confuſion was ſo great; that three hundred of them then periſhed by the ſword, or in the water. The whole night following, the Canon from the Caſtle playd very hard vpon the Kings folke, but with little or no loſſe vnto his *Majeſtie*. Vpon the 8.th of *Iuly*, his *Majeſtie* leaving Sir *Iohn Bannier* to keepe the Sconce that was taken; marched from thence vnto a Cloyſter called *Pudegla*; which was a ſtrong paſſage vpon the Ile of *Vſedome*. But the enemy, before the Kings comming, had ſpoyled and pillaged all that there was, and then ranne away. Here the King lodged all night.

The Ile of *Wollin* taken.

Vpon the 9.th of *Iuly*, the King marched to the *Swing*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the Iland; where the other mouth of the *Oder*, diſemboketh into the *Baltick* Sea. There found he a Sconce, ſtrongly builded indeede, yet but weakly defended: the Garriſon vpon the firſt ſight of the Kings troopes, abandoning the place, and ſhifting themſelues over the River into the neighbour Ile of *Wollin*. This place, which the *Oder*, the *Friſchhaff*, the Sea, and a little Fret of water, make into an Iland; lyes on the Eaſt-ſide of *Vſedome*: and here the King having found Boates, immediately followes the *Imperialiſts*. Here had the Duke of *Saxonyes* Siſter a Caſtle; which the enemy fleeing out of, miſerably deface with fire. And now thoſe that lately fled into the Ile, as alſo the reſt that were there in ſeverall Garriſons before; did not onely abandon their ſtrong Sconces and Fortifications; but left, not their Canon onely for haſt, but their very Horſes alſo; together

with

with a great deale of their baggage; with two Leopards in a Cage; left there by the Duke of *Freidlandt*, who had thought to haue preſented them vnto the Emperour.

In theſe two Ilands of *Uſedome* and *Wollin*, the King remained ſome twelue dayes; vntill he had made ſufficient proviſion of Gallyes and other Veſſells, for the tranſporting of his Army through that great *Friſch haff*, and from thence vp the River of *Oder*, vnto *Stetin*: which was done the 26. of *July*. This Towne of *Stetin*, is the Seate and Title of the Duke of *Pomeren* and *Stetin*: Scituate within Land it is, South of the *Friſch haff*, being the chiefe Towne of the Countrey, and the onely good Towne of the Countrey in ſole poſſeſſion of the Duke, that was free from *Imperiall* Garriſons. And now the King landing his men at a Caſtle within an *Engliſh* mile of the Towne, about ten a clocke in the forenoone, preſently puts them into Battalia. Grave *Neeles* and the Lord of *Reay* commaunding foure hundred Muskettiers, that day had the Vantguard; and were both commanded to march towards the North Port of the Citie, called the *Mill-doore*: the King in the meane time with three hundred Muskettiers, making towards a Horn-worke, that was then a building, within a Musket-ſhot of the Dukes Palace. While this was a doing, all the Ladies and Gentlewomen, were in the windowes, and vpon the Leades, looking vpon the King and his folkes. All this while there appeared not any one man out of the Towne, to make any defence: which the King now obſerving, at laſt ſends a Trumpet towards the Ports, to demaund entrance. This meſſage made knowne vnto the Duke, a Colonel, who had the Commaund of ſome 1200. Muſkettiers within the Towne, is ſent to parlie with the King. His meſſage was, an Aſſurance from the Duke his Maiſter, that he had reſolved to ſtand *Neuter*. His Majeſtie nothing contented with this meſſage; ſends the Colonel backe againe vnto the Duke: commaunding him to tell his Maiſter from him; That he was not come into *Germany* for any private ends of his owne: but ſent for, by him eſpecially, and other diſtreſſed Princes; that by the force of his Armes, they might

Stetin taken.

be free from the yoke, which lay ſo heavie vpon their necks: and therefore, great reaſon had the Duke to open his Ports, and to receiue him into his Towne. And this if the Duke refuſed to doe; he bad the Meſſenger aſſure him, that he would enter it, by a breach made through his Caſtle: giving preſent order thereupon to haue the Canon mounted. The Duke vpon the receipt of this round meſſage, adviſes with his Counſell a while: who having concluded what was on the ſudden to be done, the Port is opened, and the draw bridge let downe, and the Duke in his Coach iſſues out, waited vpon by ſome Gentlemen on Horſebacke: addreſſing himſelfe directly towards the King. Vpon the meeting, much conference paſſes about ſurrendring of the Towne; the King preſſing; and the Duke excuſing, altogether deſirous to ſtand *Neuter*. Of this would not the King heare at any hand: making vſe of that (which in Dutch is a Proverbiall ſaying,) *They that are not with me, are againſt me*. And now the King taking notice of the Ladies and Gentlewomen on the Leades and Windowes; Coſin (ſayes he to the Duke) if you meane to keepe me out of the Towne, you muſt ſet other manner of people to guard it, then theſe Ladies; for Ile aſſure you, they will never be able to hold out againſt any one company of my Souldiers. The Duke perceiving his Majeſtie, though pleaſant, yet earneſt; deſires leave to goe againe into the Towne. The King conſents vnto the motion: but ſent order withall vnto the Lord *Reay*, to guard the Dukes perſon thitherward: and that when the draw-bridge was let downe, and the Ports ſet open for the Dukes Coach; to enter the Towne together with it; and if it were poſſible, to make good the Port. The Lord *Reay* having enough of his inſtructions, ſo diſpoſes his Muskettiers (which were *Scottiſh*) that two hundred of them marcht before the Coach; and muſt needs therefore enter before the Dukes Coach could: ſo that this peice of ſervice was done, even as the King would haue it. Thus the Lord *Reay* being entred within the outter Port, the Towne Garriſon retyred from thence within the inner Port: and the *Scots* entring pell-mell with them, that Port

was also taken. By this did the King presently enter the Towne, with his whole Army. The Duke seeing this, dismisses his owne forces, which he had till then, there kept in Garrison: who thereupon tooke present oath and pay, for the Kings service.

The next morning, the King commaunds Sir *Iohn Bannier* Generall of his Infantery, to take with him 600. *Swedish* Muskettiers, vnder the commaund of Grave *Ioachim*, and 600. *Scottish* Muskettiers, vnder the commaund of the Lord *Reay*; to make an assault vpon the Towne of *Damme*, lying a mile to the South-East of *Stetin*. The Towne had on that side but one approach vnto it; and that was a narrow causey leading thorough the marish, vpon which the Towne stood. These 12000. men now advanc't almost as farre as a Sconce, which guarded the end of the Towne; a Country-boore comming vp to the Commanders, proffers them his service to leade them a secret way thorough the marish: by which meanes, they might more easily fall on, vpon the other side of the Towne. But the Burgers of the Towne, (who it seemes had intelligence with the Kings forces) now sending vnto them; desired them to haue the patience but to stay vntill night, and then they promised to giue them entrance by a private posterne gate. This delay was cunningly projected by the Townesmen; and served them to very good purpose: for had the Kings forces taken the Towne by assault, then, by the Law of Armes, had the pillage of the whole Towne beene their owne. Thus, (vpon what reasons or feares I know not) the enemies Garrison consisting of some two hundred and fiftie Muskettiers, and fortie horse, forsooke the Towne that very evening; taking their way East-ward, towards the next Towne of *Stargard*. With the Burgers of this Towne of *Stargard*, the King having also intelligence; instantly sends thither also. But whether it was, that he thought not fit too farre to giue trust vnto those Burgers, and to adventure his owne men vpon their honesties; especially since the Garrison was thus lately reenforced: sure it is, that he employed none of his owne men, but committed the charge vnto that

Colonell and his men, who had layn in Garriſon in *Stetin*, before his *Majeſties* comming thither. This Colonel knowing the Country perfectly, came by night vpon the Towne: and having given advertiſement vnto theſe Burgers within, with whom he had correſpondency; they ſecretly opening a Port vnto him, giue him preſent entrance. He thus got in, preſently cuts in peices the *Corps du guard*, which had the Watch vpon the Market-place. This done, he without ſtay goes towards another Port, which had two ſtrong Sconces before it; theſe he preſently aſſaulted, killing three hundred and fiftie Souldiers which he found within them. This act, had like to haue loſt him the towne: for the reſt of the towne Garriſon, (which were aſleepe in their beds when he at firſt entred,) now hearing the noyſe; ſtart vp, and betake themſelues vnto their Armes; ſhutting withall, the Port behinde the Kings Colonell, who was now buſily employed, vpon the execution within the Sconces. Very hard had it beene for him to haue entred the Towne againe, but that the Burgers at the ſame time taking Armes; by force opened another Port for him. The Garriſon by this time having gathered into a head vpon the Market-place, now finding themſelues too weake to reſiſt ſo great forces; retire themſelues into the Church-ſteeple: but now the *Swediſh* turning the Canon which they had gotten in the two Sconces, againſt the ſteeple; the Garriſon forthwith yeeld themſelues, conditioning to goe off with their liues and Armes ſaved.

There were found in this Towne of *Stargard*, 500. barrels of meale; much powder and ſhott, and ſome Ordnance. The King after fortifies the place, with fiue new Bulwarkes, three halfe Moones, and ſuch other Outworkes. Whileſt this was a doing, *Cammin* another Ilet and Biſhops See, butting vpon *Wollin*, is alſo taken. The rough methode of warre ſhould haue fallen vpon the Towne of *Colbergen* next: but this being too tough a peice, is let alone till afterwards.

The Ile of *Cammin* taken.

The City of *Stetin* being thus taken, and the King vſing the people royally, they beginne to bethinke themſelues of the good alteratiõ they began to feele, holding themſelues happy,

were

were but the King made their Protector. The overture of a League firſt, and the Articles afterward, were therefore now treated vpon, concluded, and publiſhed, about the tenth of *Auguſt*. This League conquered him the whole Countrey. The King, in a Preface prefixed to the Articles, excuſes the Duke; profeſſing to haue taken the Towne againſt his will. The Duke alſo ſubjoynes his owne Apologie; That he had beene forced to this League. 1. For that having no ayd from others. 2. He was too weake to haue reſiſted the King. 3. And that his Subjects having beene diſarmed by their pretended Defenders the *Imperialiſts*. 4. Yea ſo impoveriſhed, that they had not meanes ſufficient left, barely to liue vpon; were thereby diſabled to defend themſelues. 5. So that having for three yeares together endured the hardeſt of oppreſſions; they were deſirous rather to be freed, then further engaged, in a new warre and dangers. 6. Eſpecially having beene ſo much diſcouraged to ſerue the Emperour, who never kept promiſe with them. 7. As for the Kings proceedings, his courſe taken to eaſe them, were juſt and Chriſtian. 8. And ſeeing that very chary he was, to oppoſe the Emperour. 9. As purpoſing onely to reſtraine the inſolency of theſe new oppreſſors. 10. Therefore he thought this League to be his beſt courſe, both to recover his owne eſtate, and to ſecure *Swedens*. Seing therefore the King had paſt his royall word, to be a friend and not a foe, vnto all places which he ſhould recover: he profeſſes himſelfe willinger to entruſt his Countrey in the Kings hands, then hazard the loſſe of all. Foureteene Articles the King and Duke then agree vpon: of all which, theſe two chiefly concerne our Story. 1. That this warre was onely for Defence of the wronged, and not to injure the Emperour. 2. That all places recovered by the King, ſhould be reſtored vnto the Duke. An Excuſe beſides theſe ten former Reaſons, is by the Duke ſent vnto the Emperour: which with the reſt of the Articles we leaue to be read in the *Engliſh* Printed Booke of them.

A League betwixt the King and *Bogiſlaus* Duke of *Stetin* and *Pomeren*.

Stetin being thus agreed with the King, willingly giues him 50000. Rixe Dollars, and the Countrey as many: The Merchants

chants alſo granting him a Subſidie of Tonnage and Poundage, of three and a halfe *per Centum*. The King takes care firſt, for the guarding of the Citie: to which end it is not onely fortified with new and ſtrange workes; but with a ſtanding Leaguer or Camp-royall alſo; formed at the Townebridge, on the Eaſt banke of the *Oder*; over which the noble *Guſtavus Horne*, Feild-Marſhall to his Majeſtie, in his abſence commands in chiefe. And here the Army being muſtered and payd, is ſent abroad vpon the errand they came for: and that one place might not helpe another, he with ſeverall troopes fals at once vpon ſeverall peices. To ſhew what every troope every day did, were to write a *Diary*, not a *Story*; and to take away the pleaſure of the reading. In a continued narration therefore, will wee proſecute the Story of every Citie, and Action by it ſelfe, from the beginning to the end of it; and then goe backe againe to another: taking each in his order of place, and time; that the Kings proceedings may the more clearely be diſcerned.

A Camp formed by *Stetin*.

The methode of the Story.

By this time are we come to the middle of *Auguſt*: and the King by the taking of *Stargard*, advanc't as farre into the Countrey as right againſt *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen*; is deſired by theſe of *Stetin* to beſiege theſe two Townes; becauſe the Garriſons that lay in them, vſed to ramble over all the Countrey, to ſpoyle, and plunder, and fetch in Contribution. But the King perceiving thoſe ſtrong places would take vp too much time, and he having a deſigne to cleare the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, as well as *Pomeren*; turnes his Army backe againe to theſe quarters: with a purpoſe in time to take the chiefe paſſages thither, before the enemy ſhould prevent him, and put him thereby to more trouble; Paſſing therefore beyond *Stetin* and towards *Straleſundt* againe, he ſets him downe before *Wolgaſt*; whoſe Port (as you heard) he had before taken. This is the chiefe Citie of the little Dutchy of *Wolgaſt* in *Pomeren*: The Towne he by fine force tooke in, wherein he found good ſtore of proviſion, both of Corne and Ammunition. In the heate of the aſſault, the Garriſon and chiefe Citizens retyre themſelues into the Cittadel or Caſtle:

Wolgaſt beſieged.

This

This now the King aſſeiges. *Torquati Conti* the Emperours Generall in thoſe parts, lay with his Army at that time at *Anckiam*, a Towne hard by *Wolgaſt*: he hoping to reſcue the peice, comes with three Regiments towards the reliefe of it: but is well beaten for his labour; ſaid to looſe 12. Enſignes and 3. Cornets in the Skirmiſh. The Caſtle thus defeated of her ſuccours, parlies: the conditions deſired by the Garriſon, were, To march out like Souldiers with full Armes, Colours flying, matches lighted, and their ſwords by their ſides. The King will let them goe out with no more then white ſtaues in their hands. Thoſe termes refuſed, the King falls to mining: and with two boats well mann'd and furniſht with Ordnance, he comes to the *Oder*-bridge, there landing and enquartering his men. Sends for the Duke of *Stetin*; he come, they make their approaches towards the walls; which he round beſets from the *Oder*-bridge vnto the mill-gate, rayſing Sconces and Batteries every where, where the ground was higheſt. Eight thouſand Canon-ſhot are beſtowed vpon the walles. They parlie againe; and the King condeſcends: ſix hundred Souldiers thereupon in fiue Companies, all vnder the command of Colonel *Sclecter*, come forth: Three Companies of theſe fiue, preſently take Oath and pay for the Kings ſervice: the reſt march away. This was done in the end of *Auguſt*: about which time the Queene of *Sweden* being newly come over, the Caſtle is repayred and furniſhed for her Majeſties reſidence. In this Siege, the King loſt an hundred and twentie men.

The Caſtle taken.

Whileſt the King beſieges this Caſtle; *Torquati* perceiving no good to be done vpon him; and that the Queene of *Sweden* had newly brought over 8000. freſh men (as it was reported) with her, which might make the place too hot for him; riſes with his Army from his Quarter at *Anckiam*, marching directly towards *Gartz*: about which the *Imperialiſts* by the King turnd out of other places, and others newly ſent into *Pomerland*, began now to aſſemble. There he formes a Camp; which continued till the Towne was taken. He thus departing from *Anckiam*, leaues *Eyſtat* Governour in it: be-

Anckiam taken.

fore which, ſo ſoone as the King preſented his forces; the Citizens riſe vp for the King againſt the Garriſon; and let the *Swedens* into the Towne. This was done while the King was yet at the ſiege of *Wolgaſt*.

Stolp taken.

Anckam thus obtained, the King purpoſing a deſigne for a voyage into *Mecklenburg*, firſt cauſes the paſſage of *Stolp* to be taken. This Towne is neere vnto *Anckam*, ſome fiue Leagues to the Weſt of *Stetin*, and towards the Sea: by which he had a full paſſage into *Mecklenburg*. After which he at ſeverall times alſo takes *Trebbeſes*, *Gripnitz*, and *Treptow*, three other chiefe paſſages, as we ſhall tell when we ſpeake of the Kings expedition into *Mecklenburg*.

A Faſt.

We are now come to *September*: vpon the firſt Friday whereof the King commaunds a ſolemne Faſt to be kept throughout his Army and Leaguer at *Stetin*. Vpon that day the *Imperialiſts* being led by one * *Quint*, who had before run away from the King, fall vpon the outter Guards of the Kings Camp, and cuts them off; putting the whole Army into danger. But they taking the Alarme, fall out vpon *Quint*, and beate him off with loſſe and ſhame enough. The next day alſo making a bravadoe againe, ſome thirty more of them are taken priſoners by the *Swedens*. The King a little after this, Muſters and payes his Forces newly arrived to him out of *Pruſſia*, for which he a while ſtayed, without doing much: and now abroad are they againe going, his Army being very much encreaſed by theſe, and thirtie-ſix troopes of horſe newly entertained.

* This *Quint* was ſet on, to haue killd the King.

Towards the middle of this *September* he ſends abroad 3000. horſe and 12000. foote to be doing, and to take in paſſages: ſends alſo to view the ſtrong places of *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen*: of which more when we come to thoſe Seiges. But here let me inſert an vnheard-of Crueltie of the *Imperialiſts* vpon the Townes of *Paſewalk* and *Vckermund*, ſome few leagues Weſt of *Stetin*: about mid-*September*, old ſtile, the *Imperiall* Garriſon vnder the Commaund of the cruell Colonell *Goltze*, having plundred and forſaken the Towne, and carried the chiefe men away; on the 4. th of *September* 2. troupes

of

of *Swediſh* horſe being 140. ſtrong, enter the forſaken Towne: fall with the Citizens to repayre and fortifie: 3000. *Imperialiſts* of the Army by *Gartz* hearing of this, take it againe from them *Sept.* 7th. and after moſt valiant reſiſtance, beate, kill, and driue out the *Swediſh*; fall to torturing of the Towneſmen for their money, crying giue vs money or bloud; raviſh women and girles, even in the open ſtreets, and Church-yards; yea women in Child-bed: kill and abuſe the men, fire the houſes and the people in them: thruſt ſtrawe into Cellars where Children are hidden, and then ſet fire to it: burne the Churches; maſſacre the Miniſters, and then maske vp and downe the ſtreets in their Coapes & Surpliſſes; and at length burne downe the whole Towne, laughing at it, *how finely doth Paſewalk burne?* Thus their rapes and ravages continue till the 11.th or 12.th of *September*: After which they goe to *Vckermundt*, a Towne hard by (from whence theſe 140. *Swediſh* were thought to haue come) this they fall vpon and take: vſe as before; keepe the gates ſhut, and ſo burne the people in the Towne.

The crueltie of the *Imperialiſts* at *Paſewalk*,

and at *Vckermundt*.

To returne to the King. About this time it ſeemes had his Majeſtie taken the oppreſſions and complaints of the people of *Magdenburg* into his royall conſideration; and therefore ſends ſome forces by Sea thither, to joyne with the Duke of *Saxon Lawenburg*; which *Swediſh* aydes, *Sept.* 25. land at *Doſſou* three leagues from *Lubeck*: of which more when we handle the whole Story of *Magdenburg* * together. And about that time himſelfe in perſon goes to *Ribbenitz* in *Mecklenburg*: where his Campe is pitcht *Sept.* 28. of which more when we ſpeake of *Mecklenburg*.

* Namely, where wee ſpeake of *Tilly*.

About the ſame time of *September*, is the brave Lieutenant Generall *Bauditzen* ſent to the ſiege of *Colbergen*; and the noble Feild-Marſhall *Guſtavus Horne* commands the ſtanding Army at *Stetin*. Thus hath the King foure Armies at once: and thus are they all imployed. *October* 5th. certaine *Crabats* making a braue before the trenches at *Stetin*, driue away the Cattell thereby feeding. In reſcue of them, out ſally 1000. *Swedens*: the *Crabats* faine a flight; the *Swedes* too raſhly

The *Swedes* beaten by the *Imperialiſts.*

purſuing, fall into an Ambuſh: there beginnes a fierce skirmiſh; in which the *Swedes* overlayd by numbers, looſe ſome 300. braue men, two Captaines of horſe, and one Sergeant Major; the reſt being glad to get off with their liues. The *Swedes* meditating revenge, fall out a while after vpon the *Imperialiſts* Cattell by *Grippenhagen* and *Gartz*, driving away ſome 300. from both places, and come fayrely with them to their quarter. Many the like feates of Armes were daily practiſed betwixt them.

Colbergen beſieged.

And now leaving the other Armies to their buſineſſe in other places, we will turne to the ſiege of *Colbergen*: not becauſe it was firſt taken, but firſt beſieged: and becauſe it is a peice of Story by it ſelfe, vpon which no other depends; no other Towne being in thoſe quarters. This Towne is ſcituate on the Sea-coaſt, further from *Straleſundt*, and neerer vnto *Pruſſia*, then the King had yet conquered. So ſtrong a place, that *Torquati* and the reſt, had made choyce of it, there to lay vp their pillage, and what treaſure they had gotten in the warres. About the 4th. of *September*, was Colonel *Kniphowſen* ſent by the King to try what he could doe vpon it. His troupes being too weake, *Banditzen* is ſent with 4000. men, and 18. peices of Ordnance. Vpon him the *Crabats* and other *Imperialiſts* ſet amaine: a hote skirmiſh there is, and much loſſe on both ſides. *Banditzen* thereupon receiues two more Regiments from the King: ſo that now he is 5. Regiments of foote, and certaine horſe ſtrong before the Towne; The Gentlemen of the Country are alſo drawne into the action. The Garriſon within is 11. Companies of foote but very weake ones.

The famous Onſlaught of *Colbergen.*

Torquati Conti not ignorant of this, hath a deſigne about the beginning of *November*, for the relieving of the Towne, and his owne treaſure in it; hoping eyther vtterly to defeate *Banditzen* and *Kniphowſen*, that now blockt it vp, or at leaſt to beate vp a Quarter, and ſo to thruſt ſome ſuccours into it. *Guſtavus Horne*, then in the Camp at *Stetin*, having notice of it, immediately calls a Councell of Warre. The reſolution is, firſt to ſend *Banditzen* and *Kniphowſen* word of it: wiſhing

them

them to ſtand vpon their guard a while, aſſuring them by ſuch a time to be with them. This done, they draw out halfe of every Regiment, to goe along; every Colonel to command his owne: all being Commanded men, ſuch as had no Colours with them: and for defence of the Camp leaving the other halfe, with all the Lieutenant-Colonells, and Sir *Arthur Leſlye* to command all. Word alſo is ſent vnto the *Swediſh* Garriſons of *Griffenberg* & *Golnaw*, (juſt in the way) to come and meete them. So that with theſe, and their fellowes before *Colbergen*, they might make ſome 8000. foote & 4000. horſe. The enemy was alſo ſome 9. or 10000. men; and thoſe vpon their march, at leaſt a day or two before *Guſtavus Horne* had notice of it: but they going the further way about, through the *Marck*, and ſo along behinde *Schiffelbien*, (as farre from the *Swediſh* Garriſons as they could, for feare of being diſcovered,) the *Swediſh* were at *Colbergen* before them. There found they their owne men in battell array, and no newes of any *Imperialiſts* yet. Conſulting what to doe, they there reſolved to ſtay in ſight of the Towne, to amaze and affray the enemy all that day; and then to take as many out of the Leaguer as might well be ſpared, and ſo to march away by night, to meete with the enemy. *Guſtavus Horne* commanded the Foote, the Lord *Reay* led the valiant *Scottiſh-men* of his owne Nation, and *Banditzen* the horſe. About midnight comes a Countrey-Boore vnto them, with aſſurance that the enemy had then taken vp their Quarter in two or three little Dorps, that were hard before them: els might they haue marcht by them, and ſo the enemy might haue gone on, and defeated thoſe before *Colbergen* firſt, and perchance thoſe at *Stetin* afterwards. Here the Colonells conſult what to doe. All, but *Kniphowſen*, reſolue to ſurprize them as they now lay ſcattered and devided in theſe Villages: but *Kniphowſens* adviſe was to ſtay till morning. His reaſons were, firſt they knew not the ſtrength and lodging of the enemy: ſo that if by any error they ſhould be defeated, *Colberg*, and *Stetin*, and all were loſt. Againe, it was a very good peice of ſervice, to haue prevented the enemy in his deſigne; and if they could

not beate him, it were enough to turne him backe againe. And theſe reaſons prevailed: ſo that the Army being hard-marcht, ſate there downe to refreſh themſelues. Whileſt here they were, eyther the ſame Boore, or ſome other, goes and tells the *Imperialiſts*, that the *Swediſh* were hard by them: ſo that by three a clocke in the morning they might perceiue the enemies Dorps, all on a flame: for they riſing to be gone homewards, had now ſet fire vpon their Quarters. The *Swediſh* perceiving this, fall generally to blame *Kniphowſen*; reſolving inſtantly to purſue them. Comming to the forſaken Dorps, there knocke they downe ſome ſixtie men, that the enemy had left behinde, and ſo follow on the reſt. At breake of day, they had ſight of the retyring enemy, vpon a fayre Heath: whereupon the *Swediſh* horſe making more ſpeede, by eight a clocke were vpon the neckes of them. The enemy making *Alt*, turnes faces about to them: whereupon the *Swediſh* horſe forbeare to charge, till their owne Foote ſhould be come vp to them: who now doubling their march, were hard at hand with them. Thus when the enemy makes a ſtand, ſo doe the *Swediſh* too; and when the enemy marches, the other lyes beating vpon their Reere. The *Crabats* (or *Imperiall* horſe) perceiving themſelues likely to be overmatcht with numbers, play the *Pultrons*, and run away. The Foote goe on in this faſhion, till they came to a Dorpe, or Village, called *Faldinbruch*, there was a paſſage at a water-mill; over whoſe bridge they were to goe: and there one of the carriages of their Ordnance breaking, fowlly ſtopt vp their paſſage. Here being crowded and diſordered, the formoſt began alſo to flee. And now fell there ſo ſudden and ſo ſtrange a miſt, that a man could hardly diſcerne two Pikes length before him. The enemies Foote that could not get ouer the bridge, betooke themſelues into the mariſh by the Rivers ſide: ſtanding there vpon their owne defence, with matches Cockt, and Muskets vpon their Reſts. The *Swediſh* comming vp to them, they demaund Quarter: proffering to ſerue the King of *Sweden*, vpon condition every Officer to be vnder the King, the ſame they were vnder the Emperour: otherwiſe,

otherwiſe, they would dye like braue men, and ſell their liues as deare as they could. Quarter and Conditions are both granted them: ſo that there ſtill a while they ſtood. But to ſee the lucke of it; juſt in the meane time, returnes *Bauditzen*: who having beene purſuing the enemies horſe that fled, and now ſo vtterly rowted them, that ſcarce ten of them remained in a Company: and loſt them in the miſt withall: he ſeeing the enemy ſtand whole in a body together, and not knowing of the agreement; falls to charge them with his horſe. They perceiving this, began to ſuſpect trechery in it; that the *Swediſh* horſe ſhould fall vpon their *Reere*, and the Foot vpon their *Van*; & ſo they ſhould periſh betwixt both. To prevent which, they putting themſelues into two diviſions, turne backe to backe; thoſe next to *Bauditzen*, all at once giving fayre fire vpon him. That volley made a Fell of many a braue man. *Bauditzen* charges againe, charges home, and thorough them: vtterly breakes and defeats them. The other *Swediſh* body of horſe hearing the fight, and the miſt not ſuffering them to diſcerne the matter, imagined verily, that the enemy had beene come backe againe: yea meſſenger comes vpon meſſenger with the newes, *Our men are vtterly defeated*. And when as ſome of the horſe that had the *Van* of the *Swedens* Foote, came towards them; they certainly beleeved them to be enemies, and their owne men to be defeated: and thereupon giue fire vpon them. The other, thinke the Devill to be in it; and that their Foote had beene defeated, and theſe to be enemies: and therefore fly backe againe to their fellowes. Others alſo comming vpon our *Van*, they fall to charge them: the other as faſt letting fly at them againe. Thus having no Colours with vs, wee knew not friends from foes, our enemies, from our fellowes. In this miſerable error, and myſticall meddly wee continue, vntill 4. a clocke at night: when by finding ſome of our owne to be ſlaine, (whom we well knew) we began to find our miſtake. The Emperours whole forces, both foote and horſe, were defeated: their Canon, all their baggage and foure Cornets, taken from them. All our owne horſe, except *Bauditzens*

A ſtrange cõfuſion & miſtake among the *Swediſh*.

ditzens owne Regiment, ran away: as alſo the body of our Foote did, which were led by the yong Grave of *Thurne*, and Colonell *Wallenſtein*: onely the *Van* of the *Swediſh* Foote ſtood firme; Commanded by Baron *Teuffell*, the Lord *Reay*, and Sir *Iohn Haibron*. So that both the Armies had run away in the miſt; except *Bauditzen* and his Regiment of horſe, and the *Van* of Foote aforeſaid. Theſe ſtayed after the fight, to bury their ſlaine fellowes. This prettie kinde of battell hapned vpon the 11.th of *November*, 1630. In which, what with thoſe that were ſlaine by the enemy, and what they had killed themſelues; were 500. men loſt. The reſt, partly laughing at their owne miſtake, partly ſorry for their fellowes and *Comrades*; and partly glad to haue defeated the enemy; they returne homewards againe: *Bauditzen* and *Kniphowſen* vnto their ſiege; and the other vnto their Leaguer.

Preſently after this, in the middle of the ſame *November*, were there 182. houſes burnt within the Citie: the fault was layd vpon the negligence of a ſervant: though others ſuſpected it to be a villany of the beſieged: Sure it is, that there were Letters intercepted by the *Swediſh*, which ſhould haue perſwaded the Garriſon, that ſeeing they could not be relieved, the beſt way were to fire the Towne, and by a reſolute ſally to breake through the enemy. This is like vnto the *Imperialiſts* practiſes in other places: who at *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen* about the ſame time, made ſtay of all the Boats that came vp the *Oder*, having a deſigne to fire *Stargard* with them; by that meanes to haue delivered *Colbergen*. The ſame they threatned vnto *Stetin* alſo: which made thoſe Townes ſtand vpon their guard the ſurer. Towards the end of *November*, the *Swedes* cut off the freſh water that ſerv'd the Citie. In the beginning of *December*, the beſieged vpon an advantage ſallying out, ſurprize a Lieutenant, with ſome thirtie of their enemies; and the *Swediſh* within a while after, cut off a Convoy of 180 Wagons laden with Corne and other proviſions, which was going into the Citie: an hundred of which they bring away; the reſt which they had not time nor meanes to doe, they ſet fire on. In *February* when the King was gone towards *Mecklenburg*,

Ienburg, the Garriſon making abroad, fetch in 500. head of Cattell one with another. Thus paſt there encounters too and againe betwixt them, till the end of *February*. the 26. whereof, they now finding their proviſions to fayle within, & their hopes without; ſend to parlie with the *Swediſh* Generall, who acquaints the King with it. His Majeſtie condeſcends, to let them come out with Colours flying, matches light, full Armes, bag and baggage, and two peices of Ordnance. They were in all 1500. men; whereof 9. Companies of foote, and two of horſe: all which were by the *Swediſh* conueyed to *Schiffelben*: whence they were to march vnto *Landtsbergen*. Thus that ſtrong Towne which had been three yeares in fortifying, (the Country-people for ten or twelue miles compaſſe, having beene enforced to labour at it,) is now after fiue moneths ſiege vpon the ſecond of *March* (old ſtile) taken in by the King: who found in it, 51. peices of Ordnance of a greater bore, and 19. ſmaller Feild-peices: 224. barrells of powder, with proportionable Ammunition. The day after the yeelding, a ſhippe comming with men and victualls for their reliefe, not knowing of it, falls into the hands of the *Swedens*.

Colberg yeelded vp.

A report was alſo ſpread abroad in the Country, that before their giving vp of the Towne, they had digd mines, and layd gun-powder and burning matches by it; which after two or three dayes ſhould take fire, and blow vp the Towne; which the *Swedes* in good time diſcovering, ſent after them in all haſt, to call them backe to an account for their baſe trechery. But this we cannot affirme. True it is, that they were ſent for backe, and ſtayd at *Friberg* in the *New-Marke*: but this was by reaſon of *Tillyes* crueltie, at his taking of *New Brandenburg* at this very time, where he put all to the ſword.

The day before *Colberg* was taken; was there a League concluded betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Sweden*: in theſe termes.

A new league betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Sweden*.

1. That it be for the defence of either of their Friends reſpectiuely, for the ſecuring of the *Ocean* and *Baltick* Seas, and the freedome of Commerce in them: as alſo for the reſtoring

of the oppreſſed States and Princes of the *Romane* Empire: and that the Forts newly erected vpon the Ports or Coaſts of eyther Sea, or in * *Rhetia*; be demoliſhed; and all reduced to the eſtate they were in, before the *Germane* warre.

* The *Griſons* Country.

2. That becauſe the Adverſe partie hath had no minde hitherto, to repayre offered injuries; and hath rejected all interceſſions; therefore is there no remedie, but to vindicate their ſafetie by ſtrong hand: for effecting whereof, the King of *Sweden* is at his owne charges to maintaine 30000. foote and 6000. horſe in *Germany*. And the King of *France* to pay his yearely ſhare in Rixe Dollars: whereof the one halfe, *May* 15. and the other, *November* 15. eyther at *Paris* or *Amſterdam*, as the King of *Sweden* ſhall thinke fit, who is to appoint his owne Receivers.

3. The levying of Souldiers or Mariners, the paſſages of ſhipping and ammunition, ſhall be in eyther of their Dominions free for either partie, and be denied to the enemy. Offenders againſt military diſcipline, and ſuch as runne away from their Colours, to be left to their owne Princes to be puniſhed.

4. If it pleaſes God to giue the King of *Sweden* good ſucceſſe, he ſhall not deale otherwiſe in poynt of Religion to thoſe places that he ſhall conquer, or haue yeelded vp to him; then the Lawes and Conſtitutions of the Empire appoynt: and the *Romane* religion ſhall ſtill be left free, where it is now practiſed.

5. Into this League, may any other States or Princes, eyther within *Germany* or without, be admitted, that deſire it: but let due care be had, that whoſoever be ſo admitted, may neither privily nor openly, favour the adverſe partie, vnder their owne name, or pretence of others; or offer wrong vnto the foreſaid Kings, or the common cauſe: but let each of them rather contribute vnto this warre ſo much as they are able, or concernes their intereſt: Which is to be determined vpon by a particular Treatie.

6. With the Duke of *Bavaria* and the *Catholike Leaguers*, in the *Romane* Empire, let termes of amitie, or neutralitie at leaſt, be obſerved: if ſo be, they doe the like againe.

7. And

7. And if by Gods grace any occaſion of Treatie offers it ſelfe; let it be by the common Counſells of the *Leaguers*: nor let any of theſe conclude a peace without the other.

8. This League to endure for fiue yeares to come: that is, from the day of the date hereof, vnto the firſt of *March*, old ſtile, in the yeare 1636. to come. Within which terme vnleſſe a ſecure peace may be obtained; vpon a generall Treaty of the Confederates, let this League be further againe prorogued.

It is moreover agreed; that becauſe the laſt yeare this League had beene begun to be treated vpon, to continue for ſix yeares; and that the King of *Sweden* had in the meane time beene at the ſole charges of the warre: therefore in regard of the yeare paſſed, the King of *France* vpon the day of Signing theſe Articles, is to giue him Bills of Exchange for 300000. pounds *Turon*, which amount vnto 120000 Rixe Dollars; which ſumme is not to be reckoned in, vnto the payments to be made in the next fiue yeares.

Of this League the King of *Sweden* giues preſent notice vnto the *Proteſtant* Princes now at the Dyet of *Leipſich*; aſſuring them that his intentions were no other, but to defend and reſtore, the *Germane* Princes, and their Liberties, &c.

All the backe of *Pomeren* being thus cleered by the taking of *Colberg*, turne we backe now againe, to what was in the meane time done in other places. The King (who would ſee to the doing of all) leaving his Army in *Mecklenburg*, was now come backe into *Pomeren*; and now caſts his eye vpon *Grippenhagen*. This Towne ſcituate vpon the North banke of the *Oder* ſome three Leagues from *Stetin*, is naturally a very ſtrong place. A peice of much importance withall, by reaſon of the bridge which it hath over the *Oder*, by which there is eaſie paſſage eyther to offend or relieve, the Land of *Marck* on the Eaſt ſide, and *Pomeren* and *Brandenburg* on the Weſt. In it lay an *Imperiall* Garriſon of ſome 3000. men: and *Don Capua* a *Spaniard* their Governour. In *July* 1630. therefore, the King taking ſome fiue Regiments of foote, and one of horſe along with him, and ſending his Ammunition vp the

The ſiege of *Grippenhagen*.

Oder, goes to looke vpon the place, as thoſe of *Stetin* had requeſted him. Being deſirous one day to ſatisfie himſelfe in viewing of a paſſage, with 24 horſe onely in his attendance; he falls into an Ambuſh of 60. horſe: where valiantly defending himſelfe a while; he is very timely fetcht off by foure troopes of his owne horſe, which came in vpon the ſpurre, ſo ſoone as they heard the Piſtols goe off. The place he findes not onely hot, but heavie: not ſo eaſie to be carried: and eſpecially for that the *Imperiall* Army then lay at *Gartz*, ſome few miles aboue it on the other ſide of the *Oder*. Therefore giues he it over for that time. After his cõming from *Mecklenburg* now, his Majeſtie *December* 23. (old ſtile) with 12. Regiments of foote and 85. troopes of horſe, in perſon drawes downe toward the Towne, about the Evening ſhewing himſelfe in battell array before it. The advantage of the enſuing night, he takes for the planting of his Ordnance; whereof he had brought 80. peices along with him: of which, 32. being Demy-Canons, he mounts 10. of them vpon the place of execution; Having given order the day before for prayers and Sermons throughout the Camp; on Chriſtmas Eve by fiue a clocke in the morning, he begins a moſt furious battery: 10. 15. or 20. peices of Canon continually going off together. A fayre and large breach being made, the *Swedens* twice attempt to enter, and are twice moſt valiantly repulſed. But 2500. men (for no more are now left) being vnable to hold out againſt 20000. the Towne is at the third aſſault taken. The Governour received a ſhot in his thigh, whereof in priſon at *Stetin* he afterwards dyed. With him is the Sergeant Major *Antonio* alſo taken: many chiefe Commanders, and 100. common Souldiers. 200. were ſlaine; ſome fled; the reſt flinging away their Armes, craved Quarter, and had it. The King had but ſix men ſlaine out right, though many wounded: for which he tooke eight peices of Ordnance in the Towne.

The King in danger.

The Townes of *Germany* haue vſually neere without their walles a goodly payre of ſtone Gallowes, vpon a little hill, which is for a heading place; which is oftentimes low walled or fenced in.

The ſiege of Gartz.

At *Gartz* (before deſcribed) another ſtrong Towne, with a bridge alſo over the *Oder*, had the *Imperiall* Army ever ſince their removing from *Ancklam*, layne. To dare *Torquati*

Conti

Conti their Generall into the feild; the King with ſome ten thouſand foote and twenty-foure troupes of horſe, preſents himſelfe before his Trenches about mid-*Auguſt* 1630. He not diſpoſed to come out, nor the King to aſſault him in his Quarters, returnes home againe. In his returne he lights vpon *Walenſteyns* Sonne, (the Emperours great Generall) drawne in a Coach and ſix horſes; guarded with an indifferent Convoy. Whom the Kings horſe forth with charging, take 120. priſoners, and ſome 35. horſes. The yong Gentleman quitting his Coach, eſcapes away on horſebacke. The plague much raging in Sūmer time about the Army at *Gartz*, *Torquato* ſends the diſeaſed into other Quarters, entertayning 2000. *Crabats* in their places. About mid-*September* there fell out a moſt bloudy fight: wherein thoſe of *Gartz* were ſayd to looſe more then 1000. men; and yet I report but the third part. They about the ſame time, beate a Convoy of the *Swedes* alſo; and bring away 100. horſes into their Campe. In the beginning of *December*, ſome are ſent thence into *Mecklenburg*: at other times ſome others are ſent to lye in Garriſon in the Townes of the Land of *Marck*, beyond *Grippenhagen*. Others had beene ſent to the reliefe of *Colbergen*: ſome ſlaine; and very many dyed of the plague. And thus had this Army beene impayred. *Grippenhagen* therefore being now taken, and ſetled: within a day or two after *Chriſtmas* day, the King ſends his whole Army to the ſtrong Sconce of *Morewitz*, which ſerved for the guard of the bridge: fully beleeving, that rather then the *Imperialiſts* would looſe ſo important a peice, they would bid him battell. But the Count of *Schamberg* (who now commanded the Army in ſtead of *Torquato*, that had lately given vp his Charge) notwithſtanding he were ſome 15000. ſtrong; perceiving his Army to be ill diſcip in'd, vſed rather to plunder, then fight; durſt not hazard the encounter: but calling the Garriſon out of the Towne, he ſets fire to the Ammunition, drownes ſuch powder and Ordnance, as he could not draw away; and ſo without one ſhot making, very confuſedly marches off; leaving the emptie Towne vnto the King; himſelfe with all ſpeede

The *Imperialiſts* beaten.

The *Swedes* beaten.

Gartz forſaken by the *Imperialiſts*.

haſting, to get through *Cuſtrine*, into *Landtsbergen*, a very ſtrong place in the way towards *Sileſia*. The King followes him with as much ſpeed, as the other fled, ſtill beating vpon his Reere. The *Saxoniſh*, *Gotiſh*, and *Swertzenhalliſh* Regiments he ſo vtterly diſperſed, that they were fayne to leaue their baggage behinde them: They that name leaſt, tell vs of 300. Wagons with their burdens; beſides 14. Enſignes. Colonell *Sparre* with ſome few Wagons of his owne baggage, ſaued himſelfe in *Cuſtrine*: Some others gat through into *Landtsberg*, and others recouered *Franckford* vpon *Oder*: about which laſt place, they after rallied their forces together againe. This was certainly a notable defeate; yea ſo notable, that had the King then had *Cuſtrine* in his hands (which he had before deſired of the Elector of *Brandenburg*) the enemy had gotten no paſſage ouer the *Oder* at all; eyther into *Franckford* or *Landtsbergen*: yea he had gotten them in fayre *Campagnia* among his owne garriſons, had ſtill followed beating vpon their Reere; yea being once in rowt, eyther they could never haue made head againe, or if they had, he had inſtantly beene vpon the powles of them; and ſo haue vtterly defeated the *Imperiall* Army. Then had *Pomeren* been quite cleered, *Franckford* & *Landtsbergen* taken at one blow. *Sileſia* alſo had beene left naked: yea and *Tilly* being not yet come vp, *Magdenburg* had beene ſaued, and all *Mecklenburg* beſieged by the Kings Armies. But all this fayled, for want of *Cuſtrine*.

The King returning from the Chaſe, even while the feare and dread of his Armies, and the loue of his juſtice, were vpon all the Countrey: goes in perſon towards *Cominxberg*, a Towne on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Oder*, not farre from *Cuſtrine*. Here had he not much to doe; for that the Townesmen voluntarily brought their keyes, and layd them downe at his Majeſties feete. Thence in perſon goes he towards *Lubus*, a Fort within a Dutch mile of *Franckford*, almoſt betwixt it and *Cuſtrine*: and there he pitches his Campe about the 8.th of *Ianuary*, old ſtile. About the ſame time goes Colonell *Leſlye* towards *Lockonitz*, a Caſtle in the very Frontiers of *Pomeren*,

ominxberg taken.

ockonitz taken.

meren, belonging vnto *Schulenburg*, and kept by an hundred *Imperialiſts*: vpon which place Sir *Arthur Leſlye* comming by night, ſo thunders with his Ordnance vpon them, that having beaten downe the gates, he falls to enter: killing ſome twentie of thoſe that made reſiſtance, and taking ſome 80. priſoners. The Caſtle was by the King freely given vnto the Colonell, that thus tooke it in. At the ſelfe ſame time, falls *Banditzen* vpon the Garriſon of *Piritz*, a Towne betwixt *Grippenhagen* & *Coninxberg*: in which were ſome 1400. men: theſe he defeates, and ſo is that Towne taken. *Piritz* taken.

But the chiefe deſigne, was at the ſtrongeſt place, *Landtsberg* by name; whither *Guſtavus Horne* was ſent; the King hoping at this ſame one voyage, to haue taken in that alſo. But this deſigne was for that time put by, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, when we come to ſpeake of that ſiege. Yet doth not *Guſtavus Horne* looſe all his labour: for hearing in his returne, of fiue troopes of *Crabats*, which vſed with ſtrong parties to make ſallies and cavalcadoes, and plundering voyages out vpon the Country, from out of *Himmelſtadt* (a towne ſome League or two to the Northward:) ſome of theſe he cuts ſhort; and others of their Nation in other places, about this *Landtsberg*. A deſigne vpon *Landtsberg* defeated.

Thus having in eight dayes ſpace (which is admirable) taken in ſo many Cities, defeated ſo many enemies; gotten many a great priſoner, and now cleered *Pomeren* and *Marckland*, even from *Pruſſia* ſide, all betweene the Rivers of *Warta* and *Oder* (except *Landtsberg*:) he calls his Army together againe, ſitting downe with it at *Coninxberg* aforeſaid, (whither he brought 70. peices of Ordnance) where he ſtayed vntill he had increaſed it with ſome new levies, made for him in the *New Marck*; and had begunne to rayſe ſome Sconces for the ſecuring of the Country. Of theſe Sconces, one was hard by *Cuſtrine*, and another neerer vnto *Sileſia*: for the guarding of which workes, and the blocking vp of *Himmelſtadt* and *Landtsberg* withall, he at his going away, leaues 9000. men in *Brandenburg-land*. Whileſt this is a doing, the King in perſon goes towards *Cuſtrine* (the chiefe Towne,

and

and the ſtrongeſt of all *Brandenburg*:) demaunding to haue that Towne conſign'd over into his protection, that he might put a Gariſon into it, and ſo keepe the enemy from returning over the *Oder*. This requeſt, notwithſtanding it were by the *Elector* denyed, (not daring to doe it as yet, the *Imperialiſts* being not onely in that Towne, but in his whole Country beſide, and the Governour *Krachten* diſſwading it mainly) yet thus much courage the *Elector* after that tooke vnto himſelfe; that he preſently ſet out a Proclamation againſt the ſharking and ſtroy-good *Imperialiſts*: commaunding his Subjects, by ſtrong hand to reſtraine their inſolencies; and to let none ramble vp and downe the Country, but ſuch as had lawfull Paſſes. Now had the King an Army of ſome 18. Regiments of Foote, and 86. Cornets of Horſe: and now by mid-*Ianuary* was Generall *Tilly* come vp to *Franckford*, there to ſuccour and take on thoſe troupes, which the King had before ſcattered: which (as we ſayd) began now to gather head againe about this *Franckford*. Of his comming the King now hearing, ſends *Guſtavus Horne* with a reaſonable Army towards the Frontiers of *Sileſia* to ſtaue off *Tilly* from comming downe that way, vnto any of the new conquered places: himſelfe inſtantly marching into the Land of *Mecklenburg*. The whole ſtory of which, and his Majeſties proceedings in that Country; we will now preſent you with altogether; beginning with his former expedition thither.

Tillyes comming.

This Country of *Mecklenburg* lyes Weſtward of *Pomerland*, along the coaſt betwixt *Brandenburg* and the Sea. Two Dukedomes it hath, *Schwerin* and *Gaſtrow*; lately poſſeſſed by two brothers, *Iohn Albert* the elder brother, and *Adolph Frederike* the younger: both the right heires, and both ſtiled Dukes of *Mecklenburg*. Theſe Princes had the Emperour of late, very injuriouſly deveſted of their Eſtates, and given them vnto *Walenſteyn* his great Generall, with the Title of Duke of *Mecklenburg*. The diſſeized Dukes, complaine vnto their Coſin the King of *Sweden*; their reliefe was another

mayne

mayne cauſe of his comming in *Germany*. His Majeſtie therefore having made ſo victorious an entrance into *Pomeren*, and cleered all thoſe parts vpon the confines of *Pomerland*, (except *Gripſwald*) next vnto *Mecklenburg*: reſolues vpon an expedition thither in perſon. About *Auguſt* 6. 1630. he prepares his owne way by taking the paſſage of *Stolp*, neere *Anckam*, ſome fiue leagues below *Stetin* towards the Sea, whereby he hath a full paſſage into *Mecklenburg*. Towards the end of *September*, his Majeſty makes ſtay of all great boats and ſhips vpon the *Oder*, and the mouth of it: wherein having ſhipt ſome 12000 men and their Ammunition; he ſayles by *Wolgaſt* (taken ſome moneth before) and *Straleſundt*; paſſing vnto *Bart*, a Towne in *Mecklenburg*, ſtanding vpon an arme of the Sea, a little within the ſhoare. That takes he in firſt. Then haſts he to *Damgarden* the next Towne on the Eaſt ſide of that arme of the Sea: which Towne & the Sconce to it, he preſently takes in by aſſault: many of the Souldiers being flung out at the windowes, and ſome others by miſchance burnt. Three dayes after this, to *Rubenitz* he comes: a Towne in the very bottome of that Indraught or arme of the Sea: and that he by force takes alſo. *Meſcord* the Governour is taken priſoner, and his Lieutenant *Iers*, ſlaine with a Musket ſhot. Here pitches he his Camp; giving order for the fortifying of this, and *Damgarden* and *Trubbeſees*, another late taken paſſage towards *Pomeren*. Being here ſetled; he firſt of all by a Proclamation dated from *Rubenitz* Sept. 28. ſummons the Gentry and people of the Country, to remember their oath once taken to their naturall Princes: to forſake *Walenſteyns* title and ſervice: to come armed into his Camp, or other his troupes; to proſecute and kill all the *Walſteyners*: and to fight with him for the libertie of their Countrey. Thoſe which doe not, he threatens to purſue as traytors and enemies: thoſe which did, to affoord his royall protection vnto. A ſecond mandate he then ſends to the Towne of *Roſtock*: of which more, when we come to ſpeake of that City. Sir *Iohn Bannier*, (his Majeſties Lieutenant for thoſe parts) being about that time alſo vpon the frontiers of *Mecklenburg*

The Kings firſt expedition into *Mecklenburg*.

He takes *Bart*, *Damgarden*, & *Rubenitz*.

He ſummons the Country.

towards *Pomeren*; directs his Letters vnto theſe borderers, to this purpoſe. That ſeeing the *Imperialiſts* thereabouts did nothing but pillage and plunder them of their Cattell and goods; and that the King his Maiſters intention was, onely to defend them: therefore they ſhould ſend their Corne and Cattle towards *Rubenitz* or *Straleſundt*. Which if they refuſed, the King would thinke thoſe pillages wilfully endured by them to relieue his enemies, and that they meant to fall away from their owne Princes: and muſt therefore take their goods where ever he found them, perſecuting them as traytors and enemies.

The Emperours Letters vnto him.

The Kings anſwere.

Whileſt here at *Rubenitz* the King lyes encamped, and his forces in the meane time buſie about the Country: there arriues an Imperiall Curryer in his Camp. His Letters contained an admiration of the Emperours, why the King ſhould come armed into the Empire: offering him a treatie of peace, if ſo be he would firſt lay downe Armes. Theſe ſeeme written from *Ratiſbone*. To this he anſwers; That his Imperiall Majeſtie would ceaſe to wonder, if he pleaſed to remember the two Armies ſent againſt him into *Pruſſia*; the wronging of his Friends; and the endangering of his owne *Sweden*. As for the offer of peace, he deſires pardon if he thinkes it not ſincerely meant; ſeeing it had beene before ſcorned: and that now the Emperour while he ſpake of peace, did ſtill continue his Levies. As for laying downe of Armes, he vtterly refuſes that; or to truſt any more vnto verball promiſes: and for treatie of peace, he would be moſt glad to entertaine it: which vpon theſe termes he will agree vnto; namely, That all *Germany* be ſo ſet'led and re-eſtated, as it was before the beginning of theſe warres. This was written after the Kings returne to *Straleſundt*, the ſame moneth of *October*, in which it was received. The Emperour perceiving that words and papers would not beate *Swedens* ſword out of his hand, at the breaking vp of the Dyet of *Ratiſbone*, in the beginning of *November*, ſets out his Imperiall mandate, for the continuing of the warres; and againſt the King of *Sweden* by name; procuring the *Electors* alſo to decree the ſame: and to

agree

agree to ayde him in it. And by this time was the King come from *Straleſundt* againe, vnto his Army at *Rubenitz*; where he for a while held the head quarter of his Camp: the reſt of the Army, being partly neerer advanc't vnto *Roſtock*, and part employed with *Bannier* in other places. And now (it ſeemes) ſome of his, * having beene as farre as *Lubeck* (one of the *Hanſe* Townes vpon the Frontiers of *Mecklenburg* and *Holſatia*) and there impriſoned and vncourteouſly vſed: the King writes his Letters vnto the Towne, to this purpoſe: That ſeeing ſuch diſcourteſie had beene offered, he could not but admoniſh them to forbeare: as they would looke for the like vſage, where he had to doe. And now had not the King an Army alone hereabouts, but a navy too vpon thoſe coaſts; to confront the Imperiall Navy gathered amongſt the *Hanſe* Townes thereabouts. For in the beginning of *December*, I finde a Sea-fight betwixt *Gabriel de Roy*, the Emperous Admirall with 15. ſhippes, and 9. *Swediſh* men of warre, neere vnto *Wiſmar* (another *Hanſe* Towne betwixt *Roſtock* and *Lubeck*:) in which the ſayd Imperiall Admirall ſhippe was foure times ſhot through, forced to ſaue himſelfe in *Wiſmar*, and to leaue three of his Ships vnto the *Swediſh*.

* These, I ſuppoſe, were ſome of thoſe forces, which the King had ſent towardes *Magdenburg*: & which had landed at *Daſſow*, within a league or two of *Lubeck*, about *Sept.* 29.

A Sea-fight.

Turne we now vnto *Roſtock*. This *Hanſe* Towne, ſcituate in *Mecklenburg* vpon the River *Warnow*. Weſt of *Rubenitz*; and ſome few miles from the Sea; had till now beene freed from Imperiall Garriſons: but vpon the Kings comming to *Bart*, was ſurpriſed by this deviſe following. A thouſand Imperiall Horſe ſend ſome before them to demaund paſſage through the Towne; pretending to goe againſt the King of *Sweden*: being beleeved and admitted, they keepe poſſeſſion of the gates, let in their fellowes; breake the lockes off the poſts, which faſtned the chaines drawne croſſe the ſtreets: and ſo finally poſſeſſe themſelues of the Market place. This done, they compell the Citizens to bring all their Armes into the *Statehouſe*, making them ſweare they had no more: then they billet themſelues vpon the Citizens, and keepe ſuch a racket, that the Townesmen dare hardly open their dores, for feare of being pillaged. The King at his comming to *Rubenitz*

The ſiege of *Roſtock*.

1000 *Imperiall* horſe get into it.

The Kings Letters to thoſe of *Roſtock.*

benitz hearing of this Garriſon, writes thus vnto the Townesmen. That ſeeing by his comming into the Country, there had beene a doore opened for their freedome; they ſhould now remember the Oath ſometimes taken to their Duke, caſt out the Garriſon, and reſtore their Citie to her ancient freedome. Which if they did, he would take it for an argument of their innocency; become their friend, and inlarge their Cities priviledges. If they neglected it, he muſt like enemies purſue them, both by Sea and Land.

He blocks vp the Towne.

The Towne eyther not willing, or perchance not able to doe this, the King beginnes to make ſome approaches vnto it; to blocke vp the paſſages, to build Sconces and Redoubts: yea and cauſes his Fleet to hover vp and downe their coaſts. This was in the beginning of *October*. Theſe proceedings the *Walſteyners* in other Garriſons hearing of, ſend out a ſtrong Convoy of 4000. men, to open the paſſages againe, and to thruſt ſome men and victuals into the Citie. Theſe the *Swediſh* grapling withall, ſhrewdly defeated, and kill the moſt of them; vtterly fruſtrating their deſigne. In the beginning of *November*, he approaches within two *Engliſh* miles, or leſſe, of the very Citie; ſtill rayſing Sconces and Retrenchments againſt them. About the beginning of *December*, ſome ſeven Cornets of *Imperiall* horſe iſſue out of the Towne on the cleerer ſide, to goe a boote-haling: theſe the *Swediſh* having by their eſpyalls notice of, purſue. In the Skirmiſh, are 200. *Imperialiſts* ſlaine vpon the place: 280. taken priſoners; and ſome 400. horſe brought away: ſcarcely 20. ſound men, recovering into the Towne againe: a pitifull boothaling for them. In this fight, a certaine *Swediſh* Colonell of *Finland*, for tryall of his valour, did twice charge quite through the *Imperiall* troupes; in his returne the ſecond time, by maine ſtrength taking a Captaine out of his ſaddle, and bringing him away vnder his arme. About the middle of *Ianuary*, is *Hatzfeldt*, Governour of the Towne, in his owne lodging murthered by one *Warmier*, a Lawyer. And in this ſtate wee leaue the Citie ſtill beſieged by the King, though not with a great, yet with a well ordered Army: himſelfe being (as we before told you)

4000. *Imperialiſts* defeated.

& 7. Cornets of horſe.

you) in perſon long before gone backe, to ſee to other things in *Pomeren*.

Thus continues *Roſtock* blockt vp both by Sea and Land, rather then beſieged; vntill after the Reinſtallment of their Lords the Dukes of *Mecklenburg* againe, and the taking of *Gripſwald* in *Pomeren* in mid-*Iune* following. After which time, the *Swediſh* Generall *Toodt* being at good leiſure, is commaunded by the King to conjoyne 10000. foote & horſe, of thoſe forces which had taken *Gripſwald*, with 5000. of the two Dukes of *Mecklenburg*; and more ſtrongly to purſue the ſiege of *Roſtock*: and to beginne to blocke vp *Wiſmar* alſo. Againe; the Queene of *Sweden* a little after this arriving with 8000. new men at *Wolgaſt*; 5000. more are ſent into *Mecklenburg*; as ſpeedily as might be, to rid out all the *Imperialiſts*. The *Imperiall* Garriſons in *Butzow* and *Guſtrow* hearing of the comming of theſe laſt 5000. conjoyne their faces in one body, reſolving to try their fortunes vpon them, and to giue them their wellcome into the Countrey. But *Doodt* and *Mecklenburg* provided better for them: commaunding all the horſe they could ſpare, to convoy in their 5000. friends; and then together, to ſet vpon their enemies. They did ſo; ſurpriſed, defeated, and ſlew the moſt of them: having the chaſe of them, even vnto their owne Frontiers: and had the *Swediſh* had but 1000. Muskettiers more with them, they had (as 'tis verily thought) at the ſame inſtant taken *Roſtock* alſo. The *Swediſh* Army being thus re-enforced, and the enemies weakned; they become bold to divide their Armyes vpon it: Duke *Iohn* of *Mecklenburg* with 8000. men continuing the ſiege of *Roſtock*; and *Doodt* with Duke *Adolph* of *Mecklenburg* going to beſiege *Wiſmar*, with the reſt of the Army; which might be as many more. And thus I finde them ſtill both lying *Auguſt* 25. About the end of which moneth, Duke *Iohn* ſo well plyed his buſines, that he tooke the ſtrong Fort or Blockhouſe of *Warnemund*; ſo called of the River *Warnow*, which is the Haven to the Towne of *Roſtock*; the Fort ſtanding on the Weſt ſide, and neere vnto the necke of that River, which next vnto the Sea is ſo narrow, that this

Fort hath the commaund of all the Ships that come into it. This Fort taken, the Garriſon preſently tooke pay vnder the Duke. By mid-*September*, had the Duke made his approaches, even vnder the very walles and Canon of the Towne of *Roſtock*: *Tilly* in vaine attempting the reliefe of the Citie, eyther with men or victualls. Now was the Garriſon in the Towne waſted away to 1500. men: and the Citizens weary of a ſiege, and fearing to looſe all, if the Towne ſhould be taken by aſſault: beginne not onely to wiſh well, but to ſpeake well, in favour of the King, and their Lord the Duke. Thus much the new Governour *Fermund* obſerving in them; beginnes to take notice of their carriages: and to put both the Duke and them, out of all hope of fayre compounding vpon treatie, or any yeelding; he cauſes a fayre Streamer to be hang'd out vpon the turrets of the Towne: to ſhew, that he would hold out as long as he had any thing that was red in him.

Fermund cauſes all the mils to be burnt, the Shallops to be ſunke in the *Warnow*, to keepe out the *Swediſh* Ships; makes his *Crabats* ride vp and downe the ſtreets, to prevent the practiſes of the Townesmen.

This *Wiſmar* is another of the *Hanſe* Townes; and in the ſame Dutchy of *Mecklenburg* alſo. Diſtant ſome leaven or eight leagues to the Weſt of *Roſtock*: and almoſt ſo ſcituate, but the haven much larger. Here did Duke *Adolph* and the Generall *Toodt* entrench themſelues by land; the *Swediſh* fleet waiting vpon it by Sea, as it did vpon *Roſtock* alſo. Of this ſiege I can adde, but this vnto the former Sea-fight, That about the beginning of *Auguſt* the *Swediſh* Shallops boldly going into the haven, brought away the Admirall and another Ship, brauely towing them both away with them.

Wiſmar beſieged.

Tilly about the 24. of *Ianuary* being now advanced as neere the King as *Franckford* on the *Oder*: his Majeſtie fearing if he marcht vp into *Mecklenburg*, he might there make fowle worke; leaues *Guſtavus Horne* with the Army about *Coninxberg*; and writes his Letters vnto thoſe of the *New Marcke*, on the Eaſt ſide of the *Oder*; to this purpoſe: That ſeeing he haddow cleered their whole Country from their oppreſſors the *Imperialiſts*; every man ſhould a *Gods* name returne to his owne houſe, trade, and husbandry: he profeſſing to be their friend, and promiſing to be their protector. That which he

The Kings ſecond expedition into *Mecklenburg*.

His Letters to thoſe of the *New Marcke*.

deſired

deſired of them was; ſuch proviſions for his Army left amongſt them, as they could well ſpare, and the other wanted. Thoſe that did not, he would take for his, and their Countries enemies. Vpon which gracious *Monitory*, divers return'd againe, without moleſtation falling vnto their buſineſſe. This done, the King calls off the moſt of his Army from the ſiege of *Landtsberg*, and his troupes from other places; appoynting their *Rendezvous* to be at *Dam*, the 28. of *Ianuary*, *Stilo novo*: and ſo *Feb.* 4. he againe paſſes *Stetin* towards *Mecklenburg*: where with an Army of 16000. horſe and foote, he vnlookt for arrived. There he firſt of all takes in *New Brandenburg*, within 8. leagues of *Stetin*: Cononel *Marezan* the Governour taking compoſition, and marching with ſix Companies of foote, and three of horſe, of *Monte-Cuculi* his Regiment; and 120. of Colonell *Putlars* Regiment. There did the King leaue Colonell *Kniphowſen* for his Governour. To this Towne *Feb.* 6. he ſummons the people of the Country of *Stargard*: with whom he treates, concerning the maintayning of the forces left for their guard. The newes of this being brought, to thoſe of *Treptow*, another good Towne and a paſſage thereby; away run the *Imperiall* Garriſon: of which his Majeſtie having ſpeedy notice, he the ſame day ſends ſome troupes thither, and takes it. Thoſe of *Dammin* (a very ſtrong Towne) fearing to be taken vnfurniſhed, with all ſpeede ſend to *Gripſwald*, nere *Straleſundt*, for more Ordnance: but neyther this, nor their ſo ſtrong fortifications will ſerue their turne. For *Feb.* 14. the King ſets downe to the ſiege; after a hideous battery, is the Caſtle firſt of all taken by aſſault, and the Garriſon put to the ſword; of whom there were ſeaven Companies, as 'tis ſayd; beſides 150. others, that had newly joyned with them. Finding the Citie too ſtrong to take by aſſault; the 15. th day, he thunders vpon that againe, beates downe the workes, and makes ſo vaſt a breach in the very hard walles; that the Governour, the Duke *de Savelli*, an *Italian*, finding the place not to be tenable againſt ſuch thunder and reſolutions; parlyes and yeelds. Vpon the ſurrender, he receiues the King vnder the gate;

Takes *New Brandenburg*.

***Treptow* the ſame day.**

The ſtrong Towne of *Dammin* aſſaulted.

Taken.

gate; and the King carryes him backe towards the Market-place: Here the King ſitting armed vpon his horſe, makes a ſpeech vnto the Towneſmen; aſſuring them of all favour: and turning to the Duke, wills him to depart the Towne, to ſalute the Emperour from him; and to tell him, That he was no enemy vnto his perſon: and that his endevour ſhould onely be, to reſtore the libertie of Religion, and of the Princes. Thus with ſix Enſignes flying, bag and baggage, and two peices of Ordnance, the Duke marches out of the Towne; leaving 36. peices of braſſe Ordnance behinde him; 60. barrells of powder, with victualls and Ammunition proportionable. The King loſt about 200. men; himſelfe (as ſome ſay) receiving a light ſhot. Letters were intercepted from the Generally *Tilly*, deſiring the Governour to hold out but foure dayes longer; at which time he ſhould vndoubtedly be relieved. Some ſay, that *Savelli* was afterwards queſtioned vpon his life; for that being over-confident of his owne ſtrength, he had refuſed to take in ſome more forces that came to offer their ſervice. This Towne, much ſtronger then *Roſtock*, is now by new fortifications doubly ſtrengthened.

Whileſt the King himſelfe is here buſied; his Lieutenant *Banier* goes to *Loczin* (hard by *Dammin*) and takes in that. And *Malchin* another good Towne is by a ſtratagem ſurpriſed alſo. *Freidlandt* is likewiſe ſo ſerved; and all the other ſtrong places, vpon the Frontiers of *Pomerland*: and ſo is *Weſtrow* by the Sea-ſide. Yea all the ſtrongeſt places, to conclude, in that Dutchy, except the foure ſtrong great Townes of *Wiſmar*, *Roſtock*, *Butrow*, and *Dammitz*: which laſt, is an exceeding ſtrong Towne vpon the River *Elve*. Thus betwixt *Iuly* the firſt, and *February* the laſt, (that is in eight moneths ſpace) hath he (which is ſcarce credible to report) taken full 80. Cities, Caſtles, and Sconces in *Pomerland* and in *Mecklenburg*.

Tilly marches into *Mecklenburg*.

By the end of *February*, hath *Tilly* heard of the Kings proceedings in *Mecklenburg*: and from *Franckford* on the *Oder*, beginnes to ſet forward into that Dutchy againſt him. The King now after the taking of *Dammin*, ſets downe with his

Army

Army betwixt it and *Treptow*: himſelfe in perſon one of the laſt dayes of *February*, going through *Pomerland*, vnto *Berwalt* neere *Coninxborg*: where the firſt of *March* he concludes the League with *France*, as is aforeſaid. Within a day or two, that is, *March* the third, was *Colbergen* taken, as hath beene ſayd. The next day, the King goes from *Stetin* towards *New Angermund*, on the ſame ſide of the *Oder* with *Mecklenburg*. By this time are ſome forces come to him out of *Scotland*: and there being no more neede of any Garriſons in the Ile of *Rugen*, thoſe he calls out. Thus drawes he all that might well be ſpared out of all his other Garriſons of *Pomerland*, taking to him the 9000. which before were in *Brandenburg*, & thoſe that lately beſieged *Colbergen*: the States and Gentry of *Pomerland*, he now commaunds, at their owne charge, to levie 10000. men for their owne defence: which forces, ſhould take oath to himſelfe, the Duke, and States of *Pomeren*. And now hath he 13. Regiments newly come to him out of *Pruſſia* alſo. Thus makes he himſelfe as ſtrong againſt *Tilly* as poſſible may be; bringing his Army from *Coninxbergen*, over the *Oder*, and forming an Army of ſome 15000. men, betwixt this *New Angermund* & *FrejenWald*, at a little Dorpe called *Swedt*. Hither he brings ſome 60. peices of Ordnance: hither alſo brings he his Ship-bridge from *Stetin*; which here he layes over the *Oder*; over which he hath a free paſſage, both towards *Franckford*, *Landtsbergen*, and *Mecklenburg*; and a Retreate too, if neede were. This Leaguer he fortifies with all art & ſtrength poſſible: that if Generall *Tilly* ſhould adventure to fall on, he ſhould come vpon the pikes. Another Army he at the ſame time hath, (and that very ſtrongly fortified alſo) betwixt *Treptow* and *Demmin* aforeſaid: and ſome forces at the ſame time likewiſe, at the ſiege of *Gripſwald*, a Towne hard by: which might, vpon occaſion, eaſily conjoyne themſelues with the ſtanding Army.

The Leaguer of *Swedt*.

At this preſent is Monſieur *Tilly* vpon his march thitherward, with an Army of ſome 22000. men, and 26. peices of Ordnance. From *Franckford*, comes he firſt to *Rapin*, paſſing in his march, not farre from the Kings Leaguer: leaving it not

abone a league or two, vpon his right hand. If ſome make doubt, why being ſo neere he ſet not vpon the King; the queſtion is eaſily anſwered; for that the Kings Camp was ſo ſtrong, that he durſt not. Secondly, *Tillyes* deſigne was, rather to haue drawne the King out into the field, to a pitcht battell (for ſo was it given out) then with ſo much hazard to aſſault him in his trenches. The more therefore to provoke the King, he falls vpon ſome of his Garriſons, even midway betwixt the Kings two Armies. *Tilly* therefore having ſome few dayes expected the King at *Rapin*; riſes and marches forwards. And to tempt out the Kings forces by the way, is Colonell *Bernſteyn* (a forward Gentleman and a valiant, but vnfortunate, who was afterwards met withall) ſent out with 500. horſe, to make a *Cavalcado* vpon *Templin*, (a towne hard by) thinking there on the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed the *Swediſh* Garriſon. But their ſpyes having given them timely notice of it, they in fayre order expect theſe hot-ſpurr'd *Imperialiſts*. So that hard to it they fall; and many on both ſides fall in the Encounter. But the worſt plainely fell vnto the *Imperialiſts*, who carryed not home ſo many as they brought out; and yet they returned full as faſt as ever they came.

Tilly takes Feldsberg.

Tilly perceiving the King not to be tempted out, proceedeth forwards: ſetting himſelfe downe at the ſiege of *Feldsberg*; a Caſtle neere vnto *New Brandenburg*, now kept by the *Swediſh*: which by aſſault he tooke in, putting all to the ſword in it. Thence he goes to *New Brandenburg*, which he forthwith ſtreightly beſieges, and moſt fiercely aſſaults. There are his men ſoundly knockt many a time, by the *Swedens* ſallyes out of the Towne, and by others from the Army by *Dammin*. *Tilly* thus enraged with the loſſe of his men, after a large breach in the walles made with his Ordnance; he *March* 9. reſolues vpon a generall aſſault; by fine force breaking into the Towne, he takes it; kills all that he findes in Armes: except the Governour, Colonell *Kniphuſen*, his wife and daughter; foure Captaines, ſome Lieutenants, and Ancients, with about ſixtie common Souldiers: all which he ſends priſoners into *Stargard*. Newes of this being brought into

&

New Brandenburg.

Friedland

Friedland ſome foure Leagues off, which was kept by one Regiment of foote and 17. troupes of horſe; away packe the *Swedens*, late in the night towards *Anclam*. The King alſo hearing of *Tillyes* hard dealing with his men, ſends back to haue thoſe *Imperialiſts* ſent after and ſtayd, which had newly yeelded vp *Colbergen*: and theſe he cauſes to be kept in durance at *Friedberg*.

Tilly after this ſends his Army towards *Demmin*: but finding no good to be done, eyther vpon the Army or Towne, and now perceiving that the King was not diſpoſed to fight with him; and that his two Armies kept him from going further that way; bethinkes himſelfe, and turnes back againe towards *Rapin*: looſing his Ordnance in the fennes, as the report was. Hearing of the Kings Ship-bridge in his returne, he ſends *Coleredo* with twentie troupes of horſe through *Botſaw* towards the *Oder*, to hinder the worke if it might be: but they finding the bridge not onely finiſhed, but with a ſtrong Sconce fortified alſo; are faine to turne back againe. In the tayle of them, follow 600. *Swediſh* horſe, purſuing them even vnto *Botſaw*: where other of their fellowes joyning with them, they paſſe beyond *Bernau* vnto *Munchenberg*: falling there on the ſudden vpon ſeaven hundred *Crabats*; of which many they kill; an hundred they take, their Colonell hardly eſcaping into *Franckford*, was faine to leaue all he had behinde him. *Tilly* having thus left the Country; the King reſolues vpon the taking of *Franckford*: in his going whither, his Vantcurryers ſurpriſe *Zednick*; kill three hundred *Crabats*; obtaine three Cornets, and 460. horſes, with a great bootie beſides.

Tilly turnes backe againe towards *Magdenburg*.

The King reſolving now vpon the ſiege of *Franckford*, vpon our *Lady day* in *March*, beginnes to paſſe his Army over the *Oder*: vpon the 27. he advances forwards in good order, with ſome 18000. men in his whole Army, beſides thoſe of *Guſtavus Horne*, who were to goe for *Landtsbergen*. Count *Schomburg* (who commanded in chiefe within the towne) now ſuſpecting the Kings purpoſe; takes in 7000. more into the Garriſon: whereof twelue troupes of horſe: and rayſes

The ſiege of *Franckford* vpon the *Oder*.

outworkes in the deſtroyed Vineyards. The firſt of *Aprill*, comes * *Teuffenbach* newly made Marſhall, of the *Imperiall* Army. He burnes downe one of the Suburbs of *Lubus*, to diſappoint the enemy from lodging in it. The very ſame day, arrives the King at *Lubus* within a league of the Towne. The next day, he entrenches in the Vineyards aforeſaid; whereupon the view of the Towne being taken, the batteries are rayſed. That evening, the *Imperialiſts* make a brave ſallye through the *Gubens*-gate: and with the loſſe of a Lieutenant and many men, are beaten into the Church-yard, by the gate aforeſaid; and glad to get in at it. In this Skirmiſh were many loſt on the Kings ſide too, and Colonell *Teuffell* among the reſt wounded in the arme. The next day being *Palme Sunday*, *Aprill* the third, old ſtile: the King keepes the ſolemnitie of the day, with prayers and Sermons in his Camp. All this while had there not beene one ſhot made againſt the Citie. Wherupon thoſe of the Towne thinking the King had not as yet brought many peices with him, begin to revile the *Swedes* that had the guard next their workes: *What you Bacon-eaters, haue you eaten vp all your Leather-gunnes for hunger?* Out of a Bulwarke at the ſame time vpon a pike, hung they a Gooſe; calling the King *a wild Gooſe, lately come over the Sea.* The King regards none of this, till both Sermon and dinner too was done. About two a clocke, the *Swedens* fall to worke vpon their Trench, rayſed the night before, cloſe vnto the *Gubens*-gate: and while the pioners worke, the Souldiers with pike and ſword, beate the *Imperialiſts* out of an Outworke they thereby had, into the Towne. That worke being perfected; the King himſelfe (then who there is ſcarce a better Gunner in the world) bends twelue peices of Ordnance vpon that gate: vnder favour of thoſe peices, clapping two Petards alſo vnto it. Through the gate, partly thus beaten open, and partly blowne vp, doe the *Swedes* towards Evening enter; others getting in by *ſcaladoe*: others enter pell mell with the *Imperialiſts*, that now forſooke their ſtations: the King himſelfe getting over the wall alſo by the old Colledge, was every where encouraging his Souldiers.

* Or *Diepenbach.*

Now

Now began a moſt bloudy fight: the *Swedes* running into the danger, like flyes into the Candle, as if they had beene blind, and not ſeene it, when as there was nothing elſe to be ſeene. From a Turret neere the place where the King entred, the *Imperialiſts* ſhot amayne: the *Swedes* threatned to cut all their throats if they gaue not over: vnto which, they now perceiving how the game went, quickly hearkned. By this time, were all the *Swedes* entred by the *Gubens*-gate. *Schawenberg*, with valour enough, encourages his men to hinder it. Vpon him, now comes *Bauditzen* with freſh troupes of horſe and foote, and beates him quite out of the place. Now was the Towne wonne: now they beginne to flee. Some of the chiefe officers of the Army, that had heretofore gotten great ſpoyles (for in this Towne were moſt of the old Servitors of the Emperours ſide) being now afraid to looſe, what they had ſo hardly before gotten; were carefull in the heate of the medly, to ſend their Wagons towards *Sileſia*, over the *Oder* bridge. Thus while the bridge was cluſtered with carriages, the fleeing people ſo throng'd and wedg'd in one another, that many were ſtifled, and many thruſt into the *Oder*: The *Swedes* alſo now in the backes of them, could not beſtow eyther blow or ſhot, which did not ſome miſchiefe. *Schawenberg*, *Teuffenbach*, and *Monte Cuculi*, with diverſe horſemen, eſcaped into *Great Glogow* in *Sileſia*. Lieutenant Generall *Hiberſtein* was ſlaine: ſo were *Heidu*, *Walſtein*, and *Iour*; all Colonells; with fiftie other Captaines and Officers: and 1703. Souldiers at the leaſt, dead vpon the place: beſides thoſe that were drowned; and others found in Cellars, Chambers, and elſewhere, as many more perchance. Colonell *Sparre* a *Sweden* borne, (who had once before eſcaped the King (as you haue heard) had the honour to be pulld by the hayre of the head from off his horſe, by the Kings owne hand; being with ſeaven other Lieutenant Colonells, and ſome ſeaven hundred common Souldiers, ſent priſoners into *Stetin*. Enſignes were there 23. (ſome ſay 41. and ſure there could be little leſſe) with 8. Cornets, preſented vnto the King. There were 300. *Swedes* ſlaine, and 100. more hurt: whereof ſome mortally.

Franckford taken.

The reſt were ſo fierce vpon the ſlaughter and pillage, that the King and *Bauditzen* had much adoe with intreaties, threats and blowes, to ſtaue them off. To increaſe the miſery of the Citizens, there fell a fire that night, which burnt downe 17. houſes. Thus was the *Imperialiſts Gooſe* ſawced, and thus roaſted. Here found he very much riches, 100000. pound of powder, 18. great peices of Ordnance, beſides many leſſer ones, and a very great quantitie of Armes and Ammunition. Solemne thankes being given to GOD for this Victory; the King immediately diſpatches 4000. horſe towards *Landtsbergen*, whither *Guſtavus Horne* (as you heard) was before gone: himſelfe the 5.th of *Aprill* with more forces following after. This ſtrong Towne of *Landtsbergen* in the *New Marck*, ſcituate vpon the Eaſt ſide of the *Oder*, neere vnto *Poland* and *Sileſia* too: lyes vpon the River *Warta*; which running out of *Poland*, falls into the *Oder* about *Cuſtrine*. This Towne lying ſo neere the *Pole*, with whom he had his late warres; makes it of the more conſequence vnto the King. Faine therefore would he haue ſurpriſed it at his firſt comming into *Pomerland*. Immediately after which, *Auguſt* 15. he ſends 2000. horſe to try their fortunes vpon it. But they could doe no good. In the beginning of *December* were ſome ſtrong parties of horſe looking that way: ſo that ſome *Swediſh* over-confident of their valour and fortune, would needs ſet vpon certaine troopes of *Imperialiſts*, which they heard were then abroad, betwixt that Towne and *Schiffelbein*. Of which the other (2000. in number) having alſo notice; provide in very good order and reſolution to entertaine them. The *Swedes* are well beaten; 300. of them loſt, and three Cornets: the reſt glad to runne away. In the beginning of *Ianuary*, when vpon the taking of *Gartz*, the King had the purſuite of the fleeing *Imperiall* Armie; he thought at the ſame time to haue ſurpriſed this Towne alſo. Thither is *Guſtavus Horne* then ſent: and from thence by the valour of Count *Cratz*, Governour in the Towne, is he for that time put. *Horne* returning hereupon, hath notice by the Countrey Boores, of ſome fiue troupes of *Crabats*, which out of *Himmelſtadt*,

The paſſages and ſiege of *Landtsbergen*.

The *Swedes* beaten.

melſtadt, a Towne ſome league or two to the Northward; vſed much to infeſt thoſe places. To hinder them, and to blocke vp the Towne of *Landtsbergen* withall, he leaues ſome 9000. men thereabouts. The King alſo himſelfe more ſtrongly blocks it vp, when he ſate downe with his Army at *Coninxbergen*; and perchance had not *Tilly* then beene about to come; he might then haue had a purpoſe to haue beſieged it: but a ſudden and a great froſt hapning withall in the end of *Ianuary*; the King riſes, and paſſes into *Mecklenburg*. Yet ſtill was the Towne blockt vp; and (to paſſe by other encounters) in the beginning of *March*, the *Imperialiſts* ſallying out, are beaten in againe all but two hundred; which were left behinde, as priſoners. In mid-*March*, the King paſſes ouer the River *Warta*, nere vnto it. Towards the end of *March*, he laying a bridge over the *Oder* at *Swedt* (where he held his ſtrong Leaguer) he had from thence a fayre paſſage both to that Towne, and vnto *Franckford*: vnto which ſiege when as himſelfe in perſon went; then was *Guſtavus Horne* againe ſent towards this *Landtsbergen*, with twentie Cornets of horſe, and foote proportionable: *Banier* then going as Lieutenant Generall, convoyes the Ordnance and Ammunition. No ſooner was *Franckford* taken; but the King the very next day, diſpatches 4000. horſe thitherward: himſelfe the 5. th of *Aprill* likewiſe following. And now goe they to it in good earneſt: the King on one ſide of the River *Warta*, and *Horne* on the other. On the Kings ſide was the Towne naturally guarded, by a certaine moraſſe or mariſh: over which, the King by the guidance of a Boore ſo ſuddenly paſſes, that he was before the Towne, before the amazed Garriſon lookt for it. Within a while after, yong Colonel *Cratz*, (ſonne to the Governeur) would needes ſally out: but a musket-bullet ſtopt his retreate, for ever going to tell his Father. Vpon the 15. th of *Aprill* (the King having fully finiſht his workes) by three a clocke in the morning, falls ſtrongly vpon their outworkes, and takes them: and three hundred Souldiers in them, which were willing to ſerue vnder the Kings Colours. The reſt ſeeing all hope of reliefe to be cut off, by the taking of

Landtsbergen blockt vp.

Taken.

of *Franckford:* demaund Conditions and haue them. The next day therefore being Satterday by eight a clocke in the morning, out they march with bag and baggage, and 4. feild peices; and as much powder, as would diſcharge them foure times over. The Garriſon was ſome 4500. in all; of which 25. companies of foote, and 12. troupes of horſe; whom the *Swedes* convoyed vnto *Great Glogow* in *Sileſia*. And that you may not wonder, why ſo ſtrong a Garriſon would ſo ſoone giue vp ſo ſtrong a place; know this, that they had no more proviſions but for one day more: which had the King but gotten intelligence of, he had had the glory by holding out that other day, to haue had them all at his mercy: and to haue given them their liues, which now they had vpon bargaine. About this ſiege firſt and laſt, the King of *Sweden* loſt 600. men. Thus are all thoſe parts of *Pomeren* and *Marckland* quite cleered; and all paſſages open into *Sileſia*.

Th
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La

At the ſame time therefore that he ſent one Army againſt *Landtsbergen*; he diſpatches the *Rhynegrave* and *Bauditzen* with other forces into *Sileſia*; which is hard by *Franckford*. They fall vpon *Croſſen*; the next great Towne vpon the *Oder:* which they preſently take vpon agreement: after which they fetch in Contribution out of the Countrey as farre as *Sagan* and *Great Glogow* alſo. This put the *Imperialiſts* in ſuch feare, that with all ſpeede (namely, about the end of *Aprill*) the Emperour ſends his Ambaſſadours to the States of *Sileſia:* vnto whom (now met at *Breſlaw*, the chiefe Citie of *Sileſia*) are theſe grating Propoſitions offered.

Croſſen in *Sileſia* taken.

The
beat

The Emperor demaunds a terrible Exciſe of *Sileſia*.

1. That for every Oxe paſtured betwixt the Rivers *Oder* and *Baber*, the Country people ſhould pay the Emperour three *Cretzers* a weeke, and for thoſe beyond, two *Cretzers*. And for every 25. ſheepe, as much.

2. For every buſhell of Corne grownd in *Sileſia*, a Toll to be payd to the Emperour.

3. Out of every hundred Rixe Dollars lent vpon Vſury, the Emperour to haue one *Florence*.

4. Out of every pound of fleſh two *Pfennings*.

5. Out of every tunne of Beere, twelue *Groſh* to be payd.

two *Pfennings* make 1. *Creitzer*. 4 *Creitzers* 1 *Batzen* 5 *Batzen* are about an *Engliſh* ſhilling. 21. *Groſh* make a Ryxe Dollar.

And

And this Exciſe to continue for two yeares.

The Emperour is now enforced to lay Contributions vpon his owne natiue Subjects and Tenants of *Gratz* and thereabouts: whom (as the Princes of *Leipſich* ſayd) he had hitherto ſpared. And now he victualls and new fortifies *Vienna* alſo. Thus begins the Eagle to looke to her owne neſt.

And now is the Dyet of *Leipſich* concluded: which brake vp on the ſame *Palme Sunday*, that the King tooke *Franckford* vpon. And now are Don *Balthaſar* and the Baron *Dhona*, ſent with more forces into *Sileſia*; which *Diepenbach* Generall for thoſe parts, complaines vnto the Emperour that he much wanted. By this time is the moſt of *Aprill* ſpent; *Franckford*, *Croſſen*, and *Landtsbergen*, Garriſond and fortified by the King: and his Armyes from ſeverall parts, now come together and refreſhed. Vpon *May-day* therefore 1631. (himſelfe the next day being to come into *Franckford*) he ſends ſome ten Regiments of foote from *Furſtenwald*, (which is about a league from *Franckford*) towards *Kopenick* backe againe into the Land of *Brandenburg*: after whom, are 80. troupes of horſe preſently diſpatched. Vpon which *May-day*, is Count *Ortenburg* ſent in ambaſſage from the King vnto the Marqueſſe *Elector* of *Brandenburg*; the Propoſitions were, to deſire *Spandau* and *Cuſtrine* to be conſigned over into his hands during the time of theſe warres; becauſe they lay ſo convenient for him: both for the paſſage of his forces out of *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerland* vnto him; and for his owne retreat backe againe vnto them, if he ſhould be put to it. A moneths pay was further required for the Armie; or elſe will the King leaue all. *Ortenburg* returning without a ſatisfying anſwere, *Guſtavus Horne* is ſent: and he fayling, the King himſelfe goes to the *Elector*; taking fiue troupe of horſe, 1000. Muskettiers and foure feild peices along with him. *May* 3. the *Elector* meets him in a little wood vpon the *Copenicker*-heath, ſome *Engliſh* mile from *Berlin*: here the King receiving no contentment, offers to returne to his Leaguer againe; but the *Electreſſe* and the Court Ladies prevaile ſo farre with their feminine irreſiſtibilitie, that his

Majeſtie takes his lodging in *Berlin* for that night, with a thouſand Muskettiers for his guard. *May* 5. the treatie begins againe: and by this time was the Kings whole Army come vp to *Berlin*; the ſight of an Army, is a very fierce argument, 'tis a very prevailing *Logike*. The *Elector* is with much adoe brought to yeeld *Spandaw* vnto the King for one moneth: whereupon the next day, the Governour *Buckerſdorp* with a Garriſon of ſix hundred men, goes out of the Towne; and the Kings forces come in. *Cuſtrine* (the ſtrongeſt Fort of all the Country, over whoſe bridge the *Imperialiſts* fleeing from * *Gartz*, had eſcaped into *Franckford*:) he could not obtaine from the Elector: *Crachten* the Governour mainly reſiſting the Kings deſires in it. That which made the King, now all on the ſudden, to deſire theſe paſſages and Retreates of the Elector, was; that now deſpayring both of the holding out of the Towne of *Magdenburg*, and of his owne relieving of it: he feared Generall *Tillyes* comming backe vpon him over the *Deſſau* bridge, (after the taking of the Towne) which was now at the laſt caſt. Cauſe withall had he to ſuſpect, that if *Tilly* ſhould indeede come backe, the feare of his fame and Armes, would ſo prevaile with his brother of *Brandenburg*, that he might (perchance) be enforced to the cooping of him vp at theſe Townes, whereby he ſhould be hindered of his retreate backe into *Pomerland*. Hearing by this time that the Towne of *Magdenburg*, was actually now taken, *May* 10. th, his Majeſtie with all ſpeede encamps at *Potſtayn*, a Towne in the *Old Marck* of *Brandenburg*, betwixt *Berlin* and the Towne of *Old Brandenburg*; whither a little before he had cauſed his Army to retyre. At this Leaguer the mayn of his Army ſtayes, from about the 8th or 10th of *May* vntill *Iune* following. Here having formed a Camp, he firſt of all ſends a Trumpet to ſummon the *Imperialiſts* in old *Brandenburg* & *Rattenaw*, two good Townes vpon the River *Havel*: laying his paſſage this way towards the River of *Elve*; ſo to blocke out *Tilly*, from breaking in that way vpon him. *Brandenburg* and *Rattenaw* thus ſummoned, and *Tilly* yet ſo buſied at *Magdenburg*, that he could not helpe them; and the

* See pag 70.

The King encamps at *Potſtayn*.

Old Brandenburg and *Rattenaw* taken.

King

King preſenting his Canon before their towns, granting them no reſpite to conſider vpon it, and laying hold of all the boats vpon the river *Havel*, from thence even to *Havelberg* towne, they are forced to yeeld, and to be packing. In this time the *Imperialiſts* attempted the recovery of *Croſſen* in *Sileſia*: but the Garriſon being aſſiſted by their fellowes out of *Franckford* and *Landtsbergen*; kill ſome 150. or 200. of them vpon the place, driving the reſt into *Great Glogaw*. And the *Imperialiſts* a little after that, lighting vpon a partie of 100. *Swediſh* horſe, take 25. of them, and driue the reſt to take the *Oder*.

Some actions in *Sileſia*.

To returne to the King. *Rattenaw* thus taken: and the Countrey of *Brandenburg* now quite cleered of the *Imperialiſts*: the King ſhips 100. peices of Ordnance, and other neceſſaries for the building of a Sconce, in thoſe new gotten boates aforeſaid; to be readie for a new deſigne. The mayne of his foote forces, he ſtill keepes in the Campe at *Potſtayn*, and about *Brandenburg*, *Nawen*, *Spandaw*, &c: and his horſe in their Quarters betwixt that, and the *Deſſau* bridge. Vpon the firſt of *Iune*, he commaunds foure Regiments towardes *Gutterbogen*, a Towne towards the 2 paſſages over the *Elve*; at *Deſſau* bridge namely, and at *Wittenberg*. A little after this, *Banditzen* in the night time paſſing a foord of the river *Elve*, ſurpriſes the *Imperialiſts* at *Werben*. About which deſigne we muſt for a while leave him, to ſpeake of three other actions of the Kings, done on this ſide the Country: for the doing of which, now after *Tillyes* going towards *Saxony*, he had the better leiſure.

The firſt of which was, his r'impatriating and inſtalling of the two Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, into their ancient and paternall inheritance, which the Emperour had before deprived them of, and given vnto his Generall *Wallenſteyn*. This Country being by the Kings Armes now almoſt cleered (excepting *Roſtock*, *Wiſmar*, *Dammitz*, and another Towne or two;) he on the 5th of *Iune*, cauſes the people to be new ſworne againe vnto their naturall Lords; & *Wallenſteyn* to be abjured. Which triumph himſelfe honored, with his royall & victorious preſence.

The Dukes of *Mecklenburg* againe Inſtalled.

The ſecond Action was done in that part of *Pomerland* next vnto *Mecklenburg*; namely the taking in of the ſtrong towne of *Gripſwald*; done by his Lieutenant * Colonell *Toodt*. This ſtrong towne of *Gripſwald* (which is alſo honored with an *Vniuerſity*) is ſcituated in the little Dukedome of *Wolgaſt*, in the mouth of the *Oder*, not farre from *Straleſundt*, whereabouts the King firſt landed. Why it was not taken in till now, I know not. I finde it to haue beene beſieged, (or blockt vp rather) with 5. Regiments of foote, and one of horſe, about the 20th of *Iuly* 1630. I finde ſome about it *Auguſt* 8. alſo: Mention is made of it in mid-*Ianuary* likewiſe: about which time the *Imperialiſts* fearing that *Dammin* would be beſieged, fetch ſome peices of Canon out of *Gripſwald* into that Towne. This *Dãmin* being taken; *Gripſwald* is left naked; & now in *March*, in good earneſt ſet vpon: 10000. men being layd at a diſtance to blocke it vp. Of any aſſaults or attempts vpon the Towne, I reade not: nor of any ſallyes made by the beſieged; but that fatall one, made by *Peruſie*, then Governor there: in which skirmiſh, himſelfe and his Ritmaiſter were both ſlaine. The occaſion of it was thus: *Iune* 10th very early in the morning a partie of *Swediſh* horſe adventure to driue away ſome Cattell, feeding cloſe by one of the Ports: which one of the Sentinels deſcrying, diſcharges his Musket, the Towne taking the Alarme vpon it. The *Swediſh* ſuſpecting ſome ſuch matter, dreſſe a fine Ambuſcado for them. Out ſallyes 4. companies; and amongſt them *Peruſie*, his Sergeant major or Ritmaiſter, and a Knight of the *Dutch* order. Theſe ſallyers being in a deſperate caſe within, become the more adventurous without. Well! the Governors courage carrying him too farre in the purſuit of thoſe, that did but feigne to flie; the ambuſh ſtarts vp, and cuts betweene the Towne and him. The *Crabats* perceiving the danger, avoyde it by forſaking of their Maiſter. The *Dutch* Knight is ſlaine firſt; and the Governor not long after. By this time are there more forces of the King come in; which had marcht hard all night for that purpoſe; the plot being layd, that the game ſhould thus be begun, before they were diſcovered. Now doe the *Swedens* make their approa-

ches

* The Lord *Otho Toodt*, or *Otty-todt*.

Gripſwald beſieged.

ches to the walls: and after an houres ſpace, the Towne is moſt ſtreightly beſieged. Firſt the beſiegers ſhew the Towne that they haue Canon, and then ſend to ſummon them by a Trumpet: Their anſwer was, that they would fight it out. Now are the Ordnance ſet to worke (which ſome call playing:) a faire ſaultable breach is made. The Garriſon is as good as their words, for by that breach which the *Swedens* thought to enter, the other ſally: yea ſo hard they lay vpon the *Swediſh* foot, that had not the horſe ſtruck in, they had made foule worke: but being by this meanes beaten into the Towne, they preſently ſound a parlie. The aſſault is given over; Conditions of yeelding agreed vpon; which came to thus much: That vpon *Iune* 16. they ſhould depart with flying enſignes, bag and baggage, and be convoyed vnto *Loitz* firſt, and to march into *Roſtock* afterwards. The *Swediſh* convoy being ſomething too weake for them, they would not keepe conditions and goe to *Roſtock*; but into *Havelberg* would they goe, that they would. This had croſt the Kings deſigne, which he was now about for this *Havelberg*. The *Swediſh* Generall *Banier* having notice of the way they tooke; ſends Captaine *Hall* to meete with them: who falling fowle vpon them; kills a many, and takes the reſt priſoners. Thus payd they for breach of Conditions. The King not knowing of the taking of the Towne, was now comming from *Stetin* with a great power to doe it: but is by the newes of it turn'd backe againe. Taken.

The third Action on this ſide, was a paſſage betwixt the King, and the *Elector* of *Brandenburg*; thus. The King having in the beginning of *May* before, obteined the towne of *Spandaw*, but for one moneth, and that moneth now out; the *Elector* demaunds his towne againe. The propoſition very much diſpleaſed the King, becauſe it very much croſt him: yet for his promiſe ſake, he delivers it, *Iune* 8. The next day he ſends word into *Berlin* (the town where the *Elector* held his Court) of a *Viſite* he meant to giue it: and a Proteſtation withall, that if any thing fell out foule vpō it, the bloud ſhould not be layd to his charge. The ſame day, he ſtreightly beleaguers *Berlin*; bending his Canon directly vpō the *Electors* palace. Out ſends the *Elector* to treate; 3 dayes are ſpent about it; & all to no purpoſe. *Brandenburg* demaunds *Spandaw* againe.

Thus at laſt when the men could not agree, the women draw downe the King to milder reſolutions. Two Regiments are received into the Towne for that night: & the concluſion is, that vpon *Iune* 12. the Kings Garriſon is againe admitted into *Spandaw*: and *Brandenburg* is to giue 30000. Rixe Dollars a moneth, towards the payment of the Kings foote; the Dutchies of *Pomerland* and *Mecklenburg*, being at the charges of maintaining moſt of the horſe. Some may imagine, that this was but a colourable deniall in *Brandenburg*; and rather Art then force, in the King. Their reaſon is; becauſe the King of *Sweden*, is brother in Law to the Elector of *Brandenburg*; as having married his ſiſter; and therefore not likely to doe him violence: he beſides, being one of thoſe oppreſſed Princes, whom the King came to relieue. So that this they judge to haue beene ſuch a practiſe, as that (as they ſay) before of the Duke of *Pomerlands* was; and that *Brandenburg* ſeem'd to be vnwilling, with what he was glad of; that he might haue this anſwere, to giue the Emperour, That he was forced to it. I cannot tell: but this I beleeve, that would *Brandenburg* haue done the King a ſervice, he might haue before done it, by granting *Cuſtrine* vnto him: and that might haue beene the ſaving of *Magdenburg*. This I rather beleeue, that *Magdenburg* being thus taken and deſtroyed, the Elector was terribly affrighted, and therefore durſt not but deſire *Spandaw* againe: but hearing now that *Tilly* was gone a fortnights march from him; engaged otherwhere; and the *Deſſaw* bridge broken downe, that he could not returne; he cõſented vnto the King. Well! the agreement being made, the King on the ſame 12. of *Iune* goes thence by water vnto *Stetin*, there to giue audience vnto the *Ruſſian* Ambaſſadour: which he did vpon the 14th after.

Spandaw, redelivered vnto the King.

By this time, there having beene ſome murmuring amongſt the *Proteſtants* againſt the King, concerning the taking of *Magdenburg*; as if he had beene too ſlow or defectiue in his aydes or counſells, vnto that Citie: His Majeſtie, though in himſelfe guiltleſſe; yet conſidering that he is cruell to himſelfe, who is negligent of his owne fame or reputation; he thinkes

thinkes himſelfe bound in honour to excuſe himſelfe ; and therefore ſends abroad this his Apologie, which wee haue here abbreviated.

The Kings Apologie concerning *Magdenburg*.

That he could never by any perſwaſions or aſſurances draw in the Citizens of *Magdenburg*, to disburſe any moneyes towards the levying of any forces for his ſervice, and their own ſafeties : no nor ſo much as to billet or quarter any of his troopes vpon them; vntill by the blocking vp of their towne, they were compelled vnto it. That neither could their owne Prince the *Adminiſtrator* of *Magdenburg*, when in the end of *July* 1630. he came into their Citie, obtaine ſo much of them: which had it beene done, *Pappenheim* had then beene diverted ; an inexpugnable Fort might haue beene rayſed ; and the Seate of warre haue beene turn'd off from the Citie. That the enemy had ſuch potent *Agents* within the Towne, that all good reſolutions in others, were hindered by them : and vnto their trecheries, is the ruine of their owne Countrey to be imputed. That notwithſtanding all this, the Citie can witneſſe his great care in borrowing moneyes from *Hambrough* and *Lubeck* for them ; which had beene ſent vnto them. As for any promiſe from his Maieſtie, which the Citizens may alledge that they relyed vpon ; they muſt know, that this is to be regulated according to conveniencie, poſſibilitie, and the preſent ſtate of things : ſo that the King might not then endanger the whole action, for the particular of one Citie ; eſpecially ſeeing their owne negligence, had now made his promiſe impoſſible to be kept. Moreover, other moſt inſuperable difficulties haue ſince fallen out and made his relieving of them impoſſible. As that Imperiall Armie in *Pomeren* and *Mecklenburg* : which beſides that it was farre too ſtrong for him in horſe; had even then blockt vp all paſſages from the Eaſt Sea vnto *Magdenburg*. That it had beene in vaine for him to haue attempted any further, vntill he had firſt taken in, thoſe two mightie paſſages of *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen*. That notwithſtanding all his diligence, he could not conveigh any troopes vnto *Magdenburg*, (to any purpoſe) vntill *November* laſt ; by which time, the enemy had encroached

encroached too farre vpon them That *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen* being taken, he might haue ruined the whole Emperours Army, could he but haue obteined the paſſage of *Cuſtrine*: but this had bin denyed him by *Krachten*, then Governour of it. That hereupon, he was faine to let the enemy eſcape (in their flight from *Gartz*) into *Landtsbergen*: nor was he able after that, to cleere the *Ebue* of the enemies, & all this, through *Krachtens* deniall. If it had beene expected, that his Majeſty ſhould then haue joyned battell with *Tilly*: they are to conſider, the many labours and weakneſſe of his forces: the hardneſſe of the winter; and the over-matching power of the enemy: who had he wonne the battell, had at that blow conquered both *Magdenburg* and *Germany*. That after *Tillyes* retyring from him to beſiege *Magdenburg*, he had ſtrengthened the Imperiall Army left againſt his Majeſty, with 12000 new men: laying them vpon all the paſſages and advantages of *Pomeren*, *Brandenburg*, and *Sileſia*: and eſpecially vpon the River *Oder*; and in the Townes of *Franckford* and *Landtsbergen*: that had he ſtirr'd to relieue *Magdenburg*, they had come vpon his backe. That to ſhew his willingneſſe, to relieue *Magdenburg*, he had adventured vpon the taking of *Franckford*; and after that advanced as farre as *Spandaw* and *Potſtayn*, towards it. That notwithſtanding the Towne ſo much concerned the *Elector* of *Saxony*, yet could his Majeſty never obtaine of him, any aydes towards the reliefe of it; or any paſſage by *Wittenberg*, or the *Deſſau* bridge, towards it. That the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* had not, or could not in time deliver him ſuch victualls and ſhipping, as were neceſſary to it: as having a reſpect vnto what the *Elector* of *Saxony* did, or would doe. That he yet knew not, whether theſe two *Electors* were or would be, his friends or his enemies. All this conſidered, his Majeſties Councell of warre aſſured him, That with ſo over-wearied an Army, firſt to paſſe ſo many enemies in the way; and then to haue ſet vpon *Tilly*, had ruind all. Laſtly, that he would haue relieved the Towne, appeares by the neede himſelfe ſtood in of it: ſeeing vpon the newes of the taking of it, he was faine to retyre with his Army; and

project

project new deſignes for his ſecuritie and proceeding. This was his Majeſties Apologie.

Suppoſe now in the meane time the Generall *Tilly* to be removed from *Magdenburg*; whence in Whitſun weeke about the end of *May*, he departed. This knowne, the King preſently hath a deſigne of recovering thoſe places; and he having forſaken the *Elve*, the King ſends towards it. Now doth the gallant *Bauditzen* all of a ſudden one night with his Dragonniers, paſſe a ſhallow place or Foord of the *Elve*: whereby the *Imperialiſts* in *Werben* are taken ſleepers, kill'd, rowted or impriſoned; their Lieutenant-Colonell, their chiefe Quarter-maiſter, and their Towne ſurpriſed: Others at the ſame time doe as much to *Borg*, within 4. leagues of *Magdenburg*. *Tilly* now vpon his march hearing of theſe tydings, and fearing withall that the King had an intention to lay a bridge over the *Elve*; away diſpatches he foure Regiments vnder *Pappenheims* Commaund; to ſecure *Havelberg*, and thoſe neighbour places. *Werben* thus ſurpriſed, now begins ſome of the Kings Army to remooue from about *Potſtayn*; and the Navie of boates with their proviſions, are ſent towards *Copenick*, to paſſe by *Berlin* and *Potſtain*, into the River *Havel*: both Armie and Fleete moving towards old *Brandenburg*, *Rattenaw*, and ſo on towards *Havelberg*. At this time the King having received a ſupply of foure Regiments out of *Pruſſia*, and ſome new troupes levied about *Brandenburg*, with ſome others drawne out of their Garriſons, he divides his forces: the Lord *Oxenſterne* Chancellor of the Kingdome of *Sweden*, hath 38. troupes of old Sou'diers added vnto his former Army in *Pruſſia*: *Guſtavus Horne* hath his ſtrength in *Sileſia*, againe reinforced with Recruites; and a bridge is layd by him over the *Oder* at *Schamburg*, a mile beneath *Cuſtrine*. By this time (that is in the end of *Iune*) is the King come backe againe from *Stetin* vnto his Armie; and that diſlodged and advanced. Vpon the laſt of *Iune* therefore in the night, is Colonel *Duwaldt* ſent out * with 2000. horſe, and 2000. Dragoniers, or Muſkettiers on horſeback; who paſſing through the *Elve* at a ſhallow paſſage (as *Bauditzen*

Werben taken and *Borg*.

Pappenheym ſent to reſiſt the King.

*Others name 98. companies of foote, and 60 troupes of horſe.

ditzen had done before,) now falls vpon the Citie of *Tangermund*; where both Towne and Caſtle being taken, the moſt of the Garriſon are ſlaine in the reſiſtance. The next day, thither alſo comes his Majeſtie. The *Imperialiſts* of *Garleben* (another neighbour Garriſon) hearing of this, preſently flee away towards *Halberſtadt*: *Wolmerſtat* is preſently alſo taken: yea the *Swediſh* fly out ſo farre, that they tooke away fiftie horſes which were graſing even vnder the walls & Ordnance of the Citie of *Magdenburg*. *Tangermund* thus taken, a bridge is laid over the *Elve*, and there the King entrenches himſelfe, there he fortifies, and formes a Camp. And now begins the buſtling, and not till now.

Tangermund taken.

Papenheym with his 4 Regiments of Crabats and others, with the expulſed Garriſons thereabouts, being ſent by *Tilly* to keep thoſe places; does his beſt to hinder the proceedings. The *Rhyne-graue Charles Lodowicke* therefore with ſome *Swediſh* forces being there abroad about *Borg* and *Wolmerſtadt*, not farre from *Magdenburg*, upon them fals *Papenheym*: of whoſe approach the King having notice, with all the horſe he could make, and ſome 2000 Musketiers, comes time enough to make one in the medlye. *Papenheym's* Foote are almoſt all cut off, moſt of the Horſe play'd the *Pultrons*, and ranne away: himſelfe eſcaped into *Magdenburg* firſt, from whence he haſtned towards *Halberſtat*, there to expect his Maſter the Generall *Tilly*. It was ſaid that ſome 20 Companies were here defeated, and ſome 14 Enſignes taken. The Garriſon of *Steyndall* beyond *Tangermund* hearing of this, preſently truſſe up their bag and baggage, and away are they packing.

Papenheym beaten.

A battell.

Steindal taken.

Papenheym thus removed from about *Havelberg*; early in the morning *Iuly* 9th. comes Sr *John Bannier*, the Kings Lieutenant generall at that time, and he fals vpon *Havelberg*: ſo called from the river *Havell*, on which it ſtandeth. All that are found in Armes are put to the ſword, and the Towne taken. This the King having notice of, the ſame day begins to remoue his Campe from *Tangermund*, ſhipping all his proviſions downe the *Elbe* towards *Werben*. This Towne was held

Havelberg taken.

held the more advantageous place to encampe in, for that it had the commaund and paſſage not of the *Elbe* alone, but of the *Havell* alſo, which here at *Werben* runnes into the *Elbe*. The Campe lay on both ſides the river, the Towne it ſelfe being comprehended within it, this he fortifies moſt mainly, as ſtrong as ever he did that of *Swedt* upon the *Oder*, when *Tilly* before came by him into *Mecklenburg*, this hee doth upon the ſame grounds and wiſedome too. *Tilly* was then neere unto him, and now is hee againe upon his march towards him. *Papenheym* had ſent for him: *Mansfield* Governour of *Magdenburg* had diſpatcht 4 poſts in one day towards him; helpe, haſte, come away, or all is loſt. *Tilly* therefore then about *Saxonie*, is inforced to put off his owne invaſion of *Heſſen*, and to countermaund his Forces backe againe already ſent thither: and now is *Tilly* come backe almoſt as farre as *Halberſtadt*, the King cals out all his Garriſons out of the Townes which could not be defended. This was about *Iuly* 14th, 1631 from whence hee advances vnto *Wolmerſtadt* in the Arch-biſhopricke of *Magdenburgh*.

The King formes a ſtrong Campe at *Werben*.

The Land of *Heſſen* wonderfully delivered.

Hither being come vpon the 16th or 17th of *Iuly*, hee firſt of all diſpeeds away 4 Regiments of Horſe for his Vantcurriers, to ſtay the Kings proceedings, whilſt himſelfe with his whole Army might come vp to him: and if it were poſſible to tempt the King out of his trenches, to pitch a battell in the field. Theſe gallant Troupes moſt of them old ſouldiers, were *Papenheyms* men, and very forward therefore now to revenge their fellowes. Colonell *Bernſteyn*, a valiant Gentleman was now their Leader: his Regiment was all *Curiaſſers*, or men at Armes. The ſecond Regiment was the *Italian* Count *Monte Cuculies* (himſelfe not there) conſiſting of 12 Cornets of Rutters. The third was *Holicke* his Regiment, and in that 5 Cornets of *Curiaſſers*, and 5 more with fire-lockes. The fourth belonged vnto *Coronino*, and 10 Cornets had he vnder him. All theſe were verily perſwaded, that the King would not fight, and in this perſwaſion they continued, till they came to *Tanger*, a Dorpe within one *Germane* league of *Tangermund*: not a *Swede* all that

Bernſteyn ſent againſt the King.

while appearing to oppoſe them. Here (about *Tanger*) doe theſe braue *Imperialiſts* take vp their Quarter; the *Swediſh* having before forſaken that, and ſome other open places.

Whileſt the wearie Troupes there reſt; out goes *Bernſteyn* with ſome 600 *Curiaſſers* to ſet the watch, and to guard the paſſages for that night. The King of *Sweden* fully enformed by his skowtes, both of their lodging and ſtrength; that very day ſends out 2000 choſen Musketiers, and 500 Dragoniers, vnder the commaund of Colonell *Collenbach*, and the *Rhyne-graue*: before breake of day had approacht the Enemie. The 500 Dragoniers, they ſet to fall vpon *Bernſteyns* 600 Curiaſſers; *Collenbach* with his Musketiers on foote encompaſſing the *Dorps*, where the *Imperialiſts* lay enquartered. The Dragoniers charging, preſently tumble downe a many of the Curiaſſers; Colonell *Bernſteyn* himſelfe being ſlaine among the firſt, and in him a Familie, for he was the laſt of his name. The reſt neither able with their horſes and piſtols, to hold out againſt horſes and muskets; nor yet knowing the ſtrength of their Enemies, make a diſorderly retreate into the Dorp: thither the Dragoniers purſue them, and there leaping from their horſes, they with their muskets ſtill let flie amongſt them. The other *Imperialiſts* cannot bee ſaid to haue taken the Alarme, but the fright at it; ſome get horſes to fight, and ſome to flie: well, which way ſoever they iſſue out of the Towne, one Troupe or other of *Collenbach's* muskettiers are ready to entertaine them. Thus are 1500 ſlaine, all the 4 Regiments defeated, *Bernſteyn* kild, *Holck* and *Coronino* fled, ſome 28 or 29 Cornets taken: whereof of *Bernſteyns* 10, of *Holcks* 6, of *Monte Cuculies* 5, of *Coroninoes* 7, beſides thoſe that were burnt. Great bootie gotten of ſilver-veſſell &c. ſome one ſouldier lighting vpon 1000 Rix-Dollars, and another vpon as many Duckets. This defeate hapned vpon *Sunday* morning *Iuly* 17: vpon which day theſe *Imperialiſts* were diſpenced withall for being at *Morrow-Maſſe*, as having before day light beene at a *Black-Sanctus*. This defeate was given, *Tilly* himſelfe being in ſight of it.

A battell.

Bernſteyn ſlaine.

Ge-

Generall *Tilly* reſolving now vpon a revenge, vpon Tueſday and Wedneſday following, he muſters and over-veiwes his Armie and Ammunition, gets all things ready for a battell. Vpon Thurſday *Iuly* 21, forward he ſets towards the King, by faire and eaſie marches (not to over-tyre his Armie) comming vnto *Tangermund*, where the King had before encamped, and from whence he had given order for his Garriſon to retyre, if they perceived *Tilly* about to come vpon them. *Tilly* at this time (reckoning thoſe that were before ſlaine) brought ſome 26000 men along with him, and all theſe like himſelfe, full of anger, reſolution, and deſire of revenge. Before he would aſſault the Kings Trenches, he was ſaid ſecretly to haue ſent vnto ſome confederates and well-wiſhers of his, or otherwiſe corrupted with promiſes, to doe a peice of trecherous ſervice for him: and that was, to naile the Kings Ordnance, (at leaſt in that part of the Camp where he meant to fall on) that ſo it might be made vnſerviceable againſt him. The plot being (by I know not what remorſe in the conſcience of one of the vndertakers) diſcovered; The King (tis ſaid) gaue not *Tilly* one Canon ſhot when hee firſt fell on, notwithſtanding he were come even vnder the Ordnance; and that *Tilly* was ſaid to haue made about 60. This made him confident, and his men braue; who preſſing now on in great multitudes, all of a ſudden was ſuch a tempeſt of ſhot, chaine-ſhot, murthering-ſhot, and what ever was cruelleſt to doe execution, ſhowred in amongſt them; that there was made a miſerable butcherie. By another *Avenue* at the ſame time, out ſallies *Banditzen* with 3 Regiments of horſe, who ſet ſo rudely vpon the Enemies *Curiaſſers*, that had the King ſeconded him with the reſt of the Armie, it had beene (as tis thought) a very miſerable defeate. Thus is the retreat ſounded for that night. Within a day or two, another revenge muſt be attempted, before which, tis reported alſo, that *Tilly* ſhould haue hired ſome Boores to haue fired the Towne of *Werben*, round about which the Kings Leaguer was: but theſe two reports wee doe onely relate, but preſſe not vpon our Readers, theſe perchance are but deviſed. Well; *Tilly* can

Tilly 3 times aſſaults the King in his Trenches.

make nothing of it neither this day, nor the next, (which was S. *Iames* his day *Iuly* 25, and the laſt day that hee attempted any thing vpon the Trenches: and is therefore forced to retire towards *Tangermund*. In which retreat the King himſelfe ſetting vpon him, ſo over-laid the *Crabats*, that they were driven backe vpon their owne Foote; who to keepe them from diſordering of their raucks, were faine to ſtaue them off, by charging their pikes vpon them. *Tilly* perceiving the King comming, made *Alt* or a ſtand, putting his men in order, & bringing forward his Canon as the King alſo did. A skirmiſh now beginning, was by the night taken off, both ſides retyring to their quarters. Some ſay that the King himſelfe was in one of theſe fights, in ſome danger and too farre engaged: and that *Banditzen* was ſo hemb'd in, that he was faine by maine force to breake through: and that in the comming off, he ſhould breake his ſword in the body of a great Commaunder, bringing out nothing but the hilts, and ſome two handfuls of the blade: and that his horſe was 4 times ſhot, and a peice of his ſaddle carried away. The Generall *Tilly* not vſing thus to be foiled, and having a good mind to be revenged, layes a Bridge over the *Elbe* at his Campe at *Tangermund*, daily ſending ſome out to ſpie their opportunitie and advantage: but perceiving many of thoſe which he ſent out, never to returne againe, and victuals to proue exceſſiue deare, yea ſcarce to be gotten for any money; he having beene almoſt a whole moneth about the King, and all that to doe as the blind cat did to the flie, lickt the skinne off her owne tongue: about the 10 of *Auguſt* hee diſlodges with his Armie, marching directly towards *Garleben*, *Wolmerſtadt*, *Hall*, and ſo to the Duke of *Saxonies* Countrie. His wants may well be beleeved to be many, ſeeing he was now enquartered vpon that Country, which himſelfe had before diſpeopled, and eaten up. Fiue hundred ſtarved horſes left he behind him, (a moſt rich prey for a kennell of hounds) and 800 wagons for want of horſes to draw them: with much elſe perchance, which otherwiſe he would not haue left behind. Some report him to haue loſt 6000 or 7000 men;

Tilly beaten off.

Tilly retires from the King

per-

perchance in all theſe 3 great defeates of *Papenheyms*, *Bernſteyns*, and his owne hee might, and yet is halfe ſo many, a great many for ſo great a Generall to looſe, nor would the ſide haue it ſo many confeſſed.

Generall *Tilly* thus marcht off, and the King having now no need to keepe ſo many Forces together, (it being both inconvenient, and chargeable beſides) he divides his Army into 3 ſeverall Quarters: of which we ſhall by and by tell you more.

During this time, her Majeſtie the Queene of *Sweden* arrives with 8000 men at *Wolgaſt*, by *Straleſunt*, where the King had before appointed a Pallace to entertaine her. And now alſo is the Lord Marquis *Hamilton* arrived. His Lordſhip after his going from *London*, vpon *July* 18 met with the Forces that were to joyne with him out of *Scotland*, in *Yarmouth* roade in *Norfolke*: which was their appointed place of meeting. Thence ſetting ſaile the 19th, (being a fleete of ſome 38 or 40) on the 25th they came before *Elſemore* Caſtle in the *Sowndt* of *Denmarke*. There went the Marquis a ſhoare to kiſſe the King of *Denmarkes* hand, who then lay at *Frederickſtadt*. The 29th they ſet ſaile againe, comming to anchor the next day by the Iſle of *Rugen*. The 31th they ſail'd into the mouth of the *Oder* betwixt *Wolgaſt* and the Iſle of *Vſedome*. The 2 and 3 of *Auguſt* were the Forces landed: being vpon muſter found to bee aboue 6000 able men; amongſt which but a very few ſicke, and two dead in all the voyage. The two next dayes they were all armed, and wafted over the river from the Ile of *Vſedome* vnto *Wolgaſt* ſide; and there billetted in 5 Villages. Here-abouts for a while they ſtay, and that, for the comming of 4 or 5000 *Swediſh* which were to be ſent vnto them. Theſe being at hand to meete them about *September* 20, vp the *Oder* from *Stetin* they goe; being about ſome 41 Companies: ſome peices of Ordnance they carry with them by water, and ſome (tis ſaid) are drawne over-land along by them. Their way was towards *Sileſia*, where *Guſtavus Horne* was now with an Armie. They were afterwards engarriſon'd in *Cuſtrine*, *Franckford*-

The Queene of *Sweden* arriues in *Pomeren*.

Marquis *Hamilton* arriues in *Pomeren*.

His men put into Garriſon

ford, *Landtsbergen*, and *Croſſen*: in whoſe places the old ſouldiers were drawne out into the field. A report we here had of a defeate they ſhould giue, but this we leaue to be confirmed in our ſecond part. The newes of the *Engliſh-mens* comming being reported at the Emperours Court at *Vienna*, did ſomething ſtartle and amaze ſome of the Courtiers: but the *Hubbub* was ere long well allaied, by a letter (from a good *Catholicke* hand no doubt) received out of *England*. The Contents were; how that few or none could here (in *England*) bee gotten, to come at the beating of the drummes, or to ſerue againſt the Emperour: whereupon a moſt ſtrict preſſe was faine to be ſet abroad, vpon which few or none except rogues or jayle-birds were taken; ſo that thoſe Forces were not much to be feared. You ſee how much this Army was beholden to their Countrey-man, this *Spaniolized* Intelligencer.

Catholike Intelligence.

The King diſlodges his Armie.

Suppoſe his Majeſtie of *Sweden* employed all this while, about the emptying of his great Camp at *Werben*, into other *Stations*. Some he keepes there ſtill, others are ſent into *Rattenaw*; and a third diviſion into old *Brandenburg*. This was about mid-*Auguſt*. About which time he hath 4000 new men come to reenforce him out of *Sweden*. Some Ordnance and Engines of warre they brought with them: and they tooke their way thorough *Brandenburg-land* towards *Franckford*; And theſe (I ſuppoſe) were the men, whoſe comming the *Engliſh* ſtayed for. The King leaving *Bauditzen* with chiefe Commaund for the time, in the Camp at *Werben*, with ſome ten Regiments of horſe, and ſix of foote: vpon the 29. of *Auguſt*, himſelfe in perſon departs from *Rattenaw* towards old *Brandenburg*; carrying foure Regiments of *Dutch*, and one of *Finlanders* along with him. By this time was the Generall *Tilly* a very buſie enemy, in taking of Townes in *Saxony*: and that Duke with an Army of 20000. men in the field about *Torgau*, one of his chiefe Frontier Townes, towards the Kings Army. The Duke muſt now declare with the King, or periſh vnder *Tilly*: and there had not onely many treaties paſſed with the Duke, concerning the conjoyning of their

Armes;

Armes; but, as it ſeemes, ſome aſſurances of late times: little or nothing now remaining to be concluded, but ſome circumſtantiall particulars, poynts of honour, and proportions of payments to the Kings Army. All theſe, it was not hard to be fayrely accommodated; and the Dukes preſſing neceſſities his Majeſtie well perceived, would ſuddenly enforce him to condeſcend. Vpon theſe grounds, the King moues forward towards the Duke of *Saxonyes* Country. So then; the Kings Infantery or Foote, being fayrely ſent a little before; the Cavalry the ſame 29. of *Auguſt*, in number 73. Cornets of horſe, and 1000. Dragoniers, marches from old *Brandenburg*: taking vp their Quarter the ſame night, ſome two leagues from that Citie; and for that he would not hinder his march by taking of Townes, or going thorough them; he that night pitcht in the feilds, neere the Towne of *Zegeſern*; where the Army was but very poorely accómodated; as being conſtreyned to content themſelues with the hoſpitality of the warres, and to lodge all night in the open ayre, vnder the blew skies, and to accept of as cold Commons vnto it: and all by reaſon that the Kings carriages, (in which their baggage and neceſſaries were,) was not yet come vp vnto them. The next day *Auguſt* 30. ſo ſoone as the Army appear'd in battell array, his Majeſty the King of *Sweden*, rode vp and downe amongſt them from Regiment to Regiment, and from ranck to ranck, giving them this gracious Encouragement. Yee Lords and Gentlemen; much grieved I am at this your hard lodging and entertainement: But courage my hearts; we are now as good as in the Dukedome of *Saxony*; and there, indeede, our intention is to enter. Aſſure your ſelues, that things will mend there; there ſhall you haue victualls ſufficient, and proviſion enough: then alſo ſhall we fully pay you the arrier, of whatſoever meanes is now due vnto you. Let vs onely make this condition with you; that you there behaue your ſelues more civilly and gentely, then in ſome other places you haue done: and in the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* eſpecially; where, in deede, it much grieved Vs, to ſee things carryed ſo ill-favouredly. Hearke! at this preſent the Drummes beate a march,

The King moues towards the Duke of *Saxony*.

A hard Quarter.

The Kings Oration to his Souldiers.

and the Trumpet ſounds to Arme; the ſignals and ſummons of our moving forward. To morrow our Army breakes vp from *Werben*; and that alſo is to follow vs. *Tilly*, notwithſtanding his great Army, ſtands already in ſo much awe of vs, that he proceeds with more leiſure and warineſſe, then he was heretofore wont to doe; for they haue beene beaten to it. It doth nothing daunt your valiant hearts, I know, that his Army is called *Invincible*; ſeeing you haue found it not to be ſo. On therefore, my hearts, a *Gods* name: Wee daily pray vnto the LORD of Hoaſts for you, and we deſire you to doe the ſame for Vs; that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to goe along with vs, to aſſiſt vs, and to giue vs good ſucceſſe, in whatſoever juſt and religious enterpriſe we vndertake.

The Army thus encouraged, and aſſured of their enterpriſe; now riſe and march. So that taking their way by *Beltzig* they arriue at *Coſwig*, within two leagues of *Wittenberg*, *Auguſt* 31. Hither now the ſame day came the Lord *Arnheym*, Feild-Marſhall to the Duke of *Saxony*: and at this time his Ambaſſadour to the King. The caſe is now altered with that Duke; *Tilly* had taught him to requeſt of the King, what he had before eyther denyed him, or would not time enough declare himſelfe in: aydes, and joyning with him. *Arnheym* humbly now declaring his Maiſters eſtate, requeſts his Majeſties ſpeedy aſſiſtance: the Conditions and manner whereof being *Sept.* 1. on the Kings part conſented vnto, and ſent vnto the Duke; are the next day returned in writing, and ſigned. The Vnion had theſe foure Conditions now yeelded vnto by the Duke, which he ſo much before ſtood vpon.

Saxons vnion with the King

And the conditions of it.

1. That his Majeſtie of *Sweden* might freely from henceforth, paſſe and repaſſe through *Saxony*.

2. That the *Elector* of *Saxony* ſhould at his owne charges provide the *Swediſh* Army, with powder, ſhot, and proviſions.

3. That the King ſhould haue the abſolute and vniverſall Commaund of the whole Armie: and the Dukes Souldiers to ſubmit themſelues vnto his direction.

4. That

4. That the Duke ſhould conclude no peace with the Emperour, without the Kings conſent: but that both of them ſhould ſtand as one man, vntill the end of the warres.

The firſt defeate that this Vnion made, was of the *Papiſts* expectation: who verily beleeving that the *Concluſions of Leipſich* would haue made the *Proteſtants* fall out among themſelues; are now fruſtrated of that hope. This done, the bridge at *Wittenberg* over the *Elve*, is freed for the King; who *Sept.* 3. paſſes his whole Army over it, into the Dukes Country. *Sept.* 4. the Kings Army from *Wittenberg*, and the Dukes from *Torgau*, advanced as farre as *Dieben* vpon the River *Multa*, within three leagues of *Leipſich*: whither alſo the *Elector* of *Brandenburgs* troopes now came. Both Armies here meeting, in ſigne that the Duke had yeelded vnto what the King would haue, (namely the ſuperioritie & commaund of the *Saxon* Armie,) the Horſemen as they came by, vayled and ſtooped their Cornets, and the Foote, their Enſignes, towards the Kings Armie. The 5th day both Armies putting themſelues into fayre *Battalia*, the King tooke a particular view of the *Saxon* forces, and of the order and conſtitution of the Army, reſolving the next day to viſite the great Generall *Tilly* in his trenches, and to levie his ſiege of *Leipſich*: but hearing that *Tilly* had that morning prevented them by taking of the Towne; the King and Duke were both put vnto new conſultations: So that the 6th day was ſpent in providing for the great day, the day of battell, which fell out to be the next day following. And here now leaving both the King and the Duke employed, let vs goe aſide a while, to fetch their valiant Adverſary into the field, the *Imperiall* Generall *Tilly*; whom wee lately left retyring this way, from the Kings Leaguer of *Werben*.

(∴)

6.[4.]

Generall *Tilly* his proceedings from the time of his retyring from the Kings Campes in *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerland*: *Historically led along vnto the day of his de-*feate, at the Battell of *Leipſich*.

THE Generall *Tilly* perceiving the King neither willing to adventure his Armies, now (like their ſwords) already worne out with ſo many winter-victories) into the plaine field againſt ſuch freſh forces, who would bee deſperate, becauſe they muſt either fight or bee gone: and that he lay too ſtrongly entrenched (in both places) to bee forced: and that by carrying away all proviſions, hee had left him no meanes there long to ſtay without ſtarving: and now hearing newes from *Coloredo*, that there was no forcing of the Kings new Bridge layd over the *Oder* at *Swedt*: bethinks himſelfe therefore of an expedition againſt *Magdenburg*; riſes, and retires with his Armie. In the end of *March* minding wholy to leaue theſe Quarters vnto the King, hee firſt of all diſmantles *New Brandenburg*, which he had ſo lately conquered: becomming now as cruell to the Towne, as hee before had beene vnto the Townſmen, and their Garriſon: for he beates downe the walles, layes all the fortifications levell with the ground, and ſo takes his leaue of it.

Tilly retyres from the King.

Order

Order is given vnto the Count of *Schomberg* to looke well vnto *Franckford* vpon *Oder*, and for the better ſecuring of it, hee giues directions for 7000 freſh men to bee ſent in, and that *Diepenbach* ſhould alſo come into the Towne to aſſiſt *Schomberg*, as you haue heard before. And whereas there were yet two Townes with *Imperiall* Garriſons in them, neere vnto the Kings Campe at *Swedt*, (in *Britſen* namely, and *Moncheberg*) which to bee ſure, the King would fall vpon ſo ſoone as ever his backe was turn'd; thoſe Garriſons he therefore ſends for, and away he marches backe againe, the ſame way (almoſt) that he came: to *Ferberlin* firſt, and ſo to *Old Brandenburg*. Now he cleerely diſcovers himſelfe, that his purpoſe was to vndertake what *Pappenheym* had all this while beene about; the taking of the Towne and Arch-biſhopricke of *Magdenburg*. Part therefore of his Cavalrie he ſends to *Havelberg*: himſelfe with the reſt of the horſe, & fiue Regiments of foote paſſing the River *Havell*, takes vp his head-quarter at *Mockeren*. His magazine for the whole warre to come, he appoints at *Zerbſt*, and that he might goe the roundlier to worke, he ſends for his Ordnance from *Hall* and *Halberſtadt*, which he commaunds to meete him at the Towne of *Magdenburg*.

Thus having brought the gallant Generall *Tilly* ſo farre onward on his way; and entred withall in that manner into our diſcourſe, as a man ſhould doe either into a goodly *Pallace* or *Hiſtorie*, namely in the midſt of it: we will leaue our Generall a while taking order for his buſineſſe, and goe to fetch vp our Storie from the beginning of theſe latter troubles.

The Countrey of *Magdenburg* is ſituated vpon the Weſt of *Brandenburg*, from which the river *Elbe* parts it: vpon the South it touches vpon *Saxonie*: vpon the Weſt joyning with *Brunſwicke* and *Halberſtadt*: and vpon the North of it is the *Elbe* againe, with the two Dutchies of *Lunenburg* and *Lawenburg*. The Countrey hath the name from the cheife Citie *Magdenburg*, which is one of the ancient *Hanſe* Townes of the Empire: and that honored with an Arch-bi-

ſhops See, and he the *Primate* of all *Germanie*.

The people be *Lutheranes*, of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*: the Arch-biſhopricke in the hands of a Lay-man; *Chriſtian William*, a Prince of the Electorall houſe of *Brandenburg*. His Title is, *Adminiſtrator of the Biſhoprickes of Magdenburgh and Hall, and Primate of Germanie*. This bred the quarrell; for he not giving way to the *Reformation* of the Religion (that is, the bringing in of Poperie againe) and the reſtoring of the Church-lands, hee is *proſcribed* and *Bandited* by the Emperor: and ſome Forces ſent into his Countrey actually to ſeaze vpon them. His Subjects notwitſtanding they were alſo farre out with the Emperor, as having conſented with other *Hans-Townes* not to ſuffer any *Imperiall* Souldiers to be quartered or billetted vpon them, and had raiſed ſome 2000 ſouldiers for their owne guards, yet being now terrified by the Emperor durſt not aſſiſt their Prince: Vntill at laſt being encouraged by the King of *Sweden*, they receiue him, and promiſe to ſticke cloſe by him, for which the King ſends his heartie thankes vnto them. This fals out about the end of *July* 1630. The Adminiſtrator thus returned, ſets forth his Declaration: proteſting in it againſt the wrongs done him by the Emperor, and putting himſelfe vnder the protection of the King of *Sweden*.

* For of that Biſhopricke is he Adminiſtrater alſo.

With this Prince, had *Francis Charles* Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* (and for the ſame reſpects) now conjoyned himſelfe. In ayde of them, had the King of *Sweden* ſent ſome troupes into the Country. And becauſe the next way through *Mecklenburg* was full of *Imperiall* Garriſons, theſe aydes are ſent from *Straleſundt* along by Sea, landing beyond all *Mecklenburg* at *Daſſow*, not farre ſhort of *Lubeck*. Theſe, the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* aforeſaid, vndertakes to let into *Magdenburg*, thorow his owne Country and the paſſages of *Lunenburg*; in the Kings name alſo levying forces from about *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, and thoſe quarters: with whom about the end of *September*, he makes himſelfe Maſter of the townes of *Boutzenburg*, *Lawenburg*, *Nyehuſen*, and other places vpon the *Elve*. Againſt him, towards the end of *September*, is the

The Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* riſeth with the Adminiſtrator.

the Generall *Pappenheym* ſent with more *Imperiall* forces: who quickly ſnaps vp the Duke, taking him priſoner in his owne brother Duke *Auguſtus* of *Saxon-Lawenburg* his Caſtle of *Ratzenburg*: and there an end of him for that time. Colonell *Bock* with ayde of the *Adminiſtrators* forces takes the Citie of *Hall*; and otherwhere holds ſome play a while: but in *October* following is he taken off alſo.

Is taken priſoner by *Pappenheym*.

And Colonel *Bock* defeated.

In the end of *November* the King ſends a noble Gentleman and well-beloved by him, the Lord *Diderick Falkenburg*, Lord Marſhall or Chamberlayn of his Majeſties owne houſhold. He being with his forces come into the towne of *Magdenburg*; the Country-Gentlemen and the Souldiery reſort apace vnto him; and the courſe of things begin to turne about againe. Then is Colonell *Schneidewin* ſent out with 600. Muskettiers and 200. horſe; and he in *December*, takes in *New Allenſleben*: ſlaying there ſome 60. *Imperialiſts*, and bringing 100. more, away priſoners with him. The towne of *Egelen* is a little after that taken alſo. In the beginning of *Ianuary* an *Imperiall* Captaine ſurpriſes ſome 50. or 60. of the *Magdenburgers*; and they falling out vpon a ſtroug Partie, fetch in a bootie of 800. ſheepe and ſome 84. head of cowes and oxen: ſetting fire at the ſame time vpon ſome of their owne Dorps vpon the *Elbes* ſide, that the Enemie might not there neſtle. I will not ſtand vpon every pettie encounter that paſſed this Winter time. The Spring comming on, they become more buſie; on the ſecond of March the Count *Ladron*, together with his Lieutenant Colonell *Kirckner*, are ſnapt vp and ſlaine by the *Magdenburgers* at *Cosnick*, neere vnto the Citie. The Citizens making out all their ſtrength, caſt vp three Out-workes hard without their Ports; and the *Imperialiſts* falling on vpon two of them at once: *Falkenburg* with 2 peices of Ordnance ſallying the ſame time out of the Citie, ſets vpon their Quarters, fires and ſpoiles all their Huts and Cabbins, where they had all this while wintered. Thus theſe leſſer fiſhes play a while with one another, till at length the great Pike Generall *Tilly* comes amongſt them, and devoures them altogether. To him now turne we.

The Lord *Falkenburg* ſent by the King.

Sup-

Suppoſe him now at *Mockeren* (where wee laſt left him) already within the Biſhoprick of *Magdenburg*, and within two or three leagues of the very Towne: in which of Souldiers and Burgers, there were ſome 4000. fighting men. Vpon the 12.th of *Aprill* he firſt preſents himſelfe in full *Battaglia* within a mile of the Citie: at which time beleeved it was, that he would at leaſt haue fallen vpon the great Starre-Sconce by the old *Elve*: but that day attempted he no more then to beate ſome Guards out of their Redoubts into the Citie. The 13. he planted 12. peices of Canon againſt the bridge over the *Elve*; againſt which he made 568. ſhot that ſame day: his intent being to cut that paſſage off, that the Towne by it might ſend no ſuccours to the foreſaid Sconce or Toll-houſe; but the Generall *Falkenburg* conveniently planting ſome peices vpon the Toll-houſe, quite at laſt diſmounted the enemies Canon. This not ſucceeding, *Tilly* falls pell mell at once vpon both theſe places, giving eight ſeverall aſſaults vnto them: but the Lord *Falkenburg* with foure whole Canon double charged with ſtones, old iron, &c. about 12. a clocke at night made them to giue over. Some priſoners the next day taken, confeſſe there were 2000. men that day ſlaine of the aſſaylants. This *Toll-houſe, was a notable peice of Fortification, built on the other ſide the *Elve*. To this *Tilly* now turnes all his battery; here falls he to myning: and all to no purpoſe. On the 15th, both by land and water he layes at it: but 300. Muskettiers being by him ſent in boates, to aſſayle it on the waters ſide, were by thoſe of the Fort driven aſhoare, and eyther all drownd or ſlaine by the Citizens; 200. alſo at the ſame time, loſt their liues on the land-ſide. Now was there newes brought into *Tillyes* Camp of the King of *Swedens* being vpon his march, for the relieving of the beſieged: a Councell of war being thervpon being call'd, ſome troupes are ſent towards *Wittenberg*, and the *Deſſau* bridge; there to ſtaue off the Kings forces. The newes of his comming now ſlackning, *Aprill* 21. to worke he falls againe: and giving on vpon the Toll-houſe, he finds that notable peice forſaken by the *Magdenburgers*; who at their

The ſiege of *Magdenburg*.

*Gallobelgicus (as I take it) cals this Fort, *Ædes portitorias*, or *Munimenta portitoria*: In *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, *The Toll-houſe*.

their retreate offering to fire it, the place was reſcued by the *Imperialiſts*. Vpon this, were all the Forts on that ſide of the *Elve*, eyther taken or given over; the bridge alſo by *Tilly* burned: and approaches made vnto the Citie, which was from thence immediately battered. Now were the beſieged forced to burne their owne *new Towne*: where 2000. *Imperialiſts* immediately lodging themſelues, fell to myning, and ſhooting of Granadoes into the Towne. The 29. by a ſally out vpon theſe in the *new Towne*, are ſome 100. ſlaine. The mynes doe no hurt, vntill one *Farenbacke*, a notable Enginer takes them in hand, who ſapps himſelfe vnder the Towne-ditches to the very hard walls: in reward of which ſervice, the Emperour makes him a Colonell; granting him Commiſſion to rayſe two new Regiments. *May* 2. the *Imperialiſts* in the new Citie having ſuddenly in the night-time caſt vp a battery, ſhrewdly puniſh the beſieged. *May* 7. Generall *Tilly* comes himſelfe into the new Towne, together with *Pappenheym* then Generall of the Ordnance, and *Schomberg* Sergeant Major generall; & a great ſhow of Ladders is made, as if there were a purpoſe of a generall ſcaladoe. *Tillyes* hope was, that the Towne would preſently parly, vpon ſight of theſe preparations: but they taking the Alarme at it, inſtantly man all their bullwarkes. The 8th day is ſpent in ſhooting at a certaine high Tower, from which the Towne-Canon much plagued the beſiegers. This day *Tilly* ſends a Trumpet to ſummon the Towne: they ſend another to him; ſignifying their willingneſſe to yeeld, might but their Adminiſtrator ſtill enjoy his Biſhopricke, and the Towne their priviledges. This not conſented vnto, the 9th day *Pappenheym* attempting to ſcale the walls, is by a ſally beaten off: in which ſome of the enemies mynes being diſcovered, are by countermynes in the Towne defeated. That day is another Trumpet ſent into the Towne: towards Evening, was there much buſtling obſerved, and carriages too and againe in the enemies Leaguer: yea they were perceived to riſe with their whole Army, (as the Towne thought) and to march to *Otterſleben*, halfe a mile from them. All that night was the Lord *Falkenburg*

vpon the walls: and perceiving in the morning no danger of assault, he calls the Citie together to giue answere to the enemies Trumpet; yea so secure they were, that the overwatcht Souldiers are suffered to goe from their Courts of guard, to take some sleepe: and some say, that the Townesmen were gone to Church to giue God thankes for their deliverance from the siege. Thus the walles being found emptie, about 7. on the tuesday morning, *May* 10. *Pappenheym* having given the word *Iesu-Maria* to his Souldiers, and a white string about their Armes; makes towards the *Heidecker* port: where having thrown turffs and faggots into the Ditch to fill it, thorow it vp to the middle the *Imperialists* runne, with scaling ladders vpon their backes. The walls are in a trice mounted, the Towne entered, and the Souldiers fall to killing. *Falkenberg* now flying in vpon them, beates them backe to the very walls againe: but a Port being by this time opened, and the enemies horse let in, the valiant *Falkenberg* is slaine with a shot, the Administrator hurt, both in the thigh and head, and so taken. Whilest all thus goes to wrack, a mightie fire breakes out (how, none knowes) and it being a great windie day, all was on the sudden become one great flame: the whole Towne was in twelue houres space, wholly turnd to Cinders, excepting 139. houses. Sixe goodly Churches are burnt; the *Cathedrall* together with S. *Maries* Church, were by the Monkes and Souldiers diligence, preserved. Twentie thousand people at least, were here killed, burned, and smoothered: six thousand being observed to be drowned in the *Elve*. *Tillyes Wallons* would giue Quarter to few: and the *Crabats*, never vse to giue, or beg any: so that all were kill'd. *May* 12. came *Tilly* into the Towne; and finding some hundreds of women and Children in the Church, he giues them their liues, and some bread to maintaine it too. Next day he forbids pillaging. Vpon Sunday *May* 15. because he would haue this fayre *Cathedrall* as like to *Rome* as might be, that is, *Consecrated in blood*; he causes it to be cleansed and new consecrated; *Masse* and * *Te Deum* being sung in it, in thankesgiving for the Victory. Future ages may perhaps

Magdenburg taken.

* With a vengeance, can the Papists now say, that this Masse was *Incruentum Sacrificium*, an vnbloudy sacrifice?

haps compare the destruction of this goodly Citie, vnto that of *Troy*, or of *Ierusalem*. The King of *Sweden*, (who for want of horses to draw his Carriages and Ordnance, could not come time enough to the reliefe) hearing of it, vowed (as some say) to be revenged; rising and retyring a little with his Army. There is a prodigie reported in *Gallobelgicus*, portending some dire abodement vnto the Citie. Thus. A Citie-Captaines wife dying in Child-bed, desires to be ript: the childe was found a boy, almost as big as one of three yeares old. He had, an head-peice, and an iron breast-plate vpon him: great bootes of the *French* fashion: and a bag by his side, with two like Musket-bullets in it. This take vpon his credit, or vpon theirs that told it him.

In capite cassidem, thoracem ferreum, ocreas amplas, quas alla modo vocant.

The same day that *Magdenburg* was taken, had Count *Tilly* given order for the burning of the *Dessau* bridge vpon the *Elbe* where the *Multa* runnes into it: which was the only passage, by which the King of *Swede* might endanger to disturb his siege: of this act he much repented him after the taking of the Citie, seeing that by destroying of that Bridge, he had cut of himself from having any more to do on the futther side of the River. Being not able therfore to returne that way, and hearing of some levies of Souldiers now making by the *Leaguers* of *Leipsich*, in *Saxonie*, *Hessen*, and *Durengen*; those he resolues by his presence to hinder. In the end of *May* therefore from *Magdenburg* he remoues; leaving 3 Regiments in the Towne, to defend what the fire had left. Forsaking the bancks of the *Elbe*, and bending a little westerly, at first through the *Hercynian* forrest he goes; with some 20000 men after him: in passing through which, many of his straggling Souldiers were knockt downe, by the Boores of the Country: his Ordnance are sent to *Gruningen*, & so forward to *Allesleben*. Thither being come, he there pitches; for hither had the Dukes of the house of *Saxonie* (whose Lands lay there about) now sent their Ambassadors.

The Count of *Tilly* marches towards *Duringen*.

Pitches at *Aldersleben*.

Pappenheym is now dispatcht towards *Havelburg*, (as you haue before heard:) and part of *Tillies* Cavallerie is sent into *Saxon-Weymars*, *Altenburgs*, *Coburgs*, & *Swartzenburgs*

Countries. Thence goes he to *Eisleben*: out of which Towne hee drawes a present contribution of 8000 loaues of bread, and 40 tunne of beere: the Citie of *Ertfurt* (who there had their Ambassadors) is forced to yeeld to contributions. Thus goes his Army on-wards by slow marches, like a *Droue* or *Hoard* of *Tartars*, as if they meant to grase and eate vp the Countrey as they went.

His cheife designe is vpon the great Citie of *Ertfurt* in *Duringen*, and its neighbour *Hessen*, that lie to the South-west of *Saxonie*, now bearing due West of him. Passing therefore into the Countie of *Mansfelt*, he over-spreads the Countries with his Armies: for *Iune* the 9th I find some of them at *Sangerhausen*, others then at *Alstedt*, and some at *Arnsteyn*; all three Townes neere vnto *Eysleben*, and *Mansfelt*, some leagues to the west of *Hall*. *Iune* the 13th is the greatest part of his Armie, so far advanc'd into the Countrey as within three miles of *Weymar*: but these bee his Horses, which had layne vpon them ever since *Whitsuntide*. *Iune* the 15th 112. Cornets of Horse passe the River *Vnstrut*: his Foote at the same time being about *Sachsenburgh* and *Heildreygen*; and himselfe then lodged at a Cloister by *Oldsleben*, within 4 leagues of *Ertford*.

From hence goes he with part of his Armie to *Mulhausen*, a Citie vpon the River *Vnstrut* in the Countie of *Duringen*, and neerer to the Land of *Hessen*; whereabouts for a while he stayes. Now hath he two designes in hand: 1 one for the taking of the great Citie *Ertfurt* in *Duringen*: for which he had these three reasons. 1. besides the wealth of the Towne, it would bring about all the Gentrie of the Country. 2. If once conquered by the sword, then were it the Emperors for ever: so that *Saxonie* must loose his Title of Protector of it, and that would breed a quarrell with him, which they desired. 3. That would breake *Saxonies* and *Hessens* levies, and saue their spoyling of the Spiritualtie in those parts, and in *Franconia*. Round about this Citie therefore hee still lies, sometimes at *Mulhausen*, and sometimes at *Oldsleben*, till towards the end of the moneth. His second designe was vp-

on

on *Heſſen*: to whom at this time hee ſends thoſe 4 (which ſome make 5) Articles, of which * we before told you: concerning which he receiving no contentment, reſolues to fall into the Countrey. * See Page. 34

Iune 28. I find *Tilly* come to *Mulhauſen*, from whence he ſends his Vant-curriers before him into *Heſſen*: Colonel *Cratz* goes to one place; *Coloredo* vnto *Saltzurgen* and *Creutzberg*: others towards *Eiſchweg* and *Vach*: himſelfe ſpeedily reſolving to follow with the whole Armie.

Tilly Marches towards the King.

But now is the hooke put into his noſe, and hee is turned backe (juſt) by the way that he came. For now hearing of the King of *Swedens* Conqueſts about the *Elbe*; of *Pappenheyms* defeate; and of *Mansfelts* poaſt haſt from *Magdenburgh*: he is faine to call off his Vant-curriers againe, and about the 10 of *Iuly* to turne with all ſpeed towards the King of *Sweden* at *Werben*: forſaking the halfe-deſtroyed Countries of the Princes of the houſe of *Saxonie*. How hee there ſped wee haue before * told you. After which hee againe betooke himſelfe into *Garleben*, *Wolmerſtadt*, and ſo at laſt into *Hall*.

And hither now haue wee brought him backe againe, the ſame way he went: for he beates over this ground as often, as if he were the ordinary Poſt of the place. Perceiving his forces by the 3 late defeates beginning to weaken, hee ſends for the Count of *Furſtenberg* with his *Italian* and *Bavarian* Troupes: who was now (as wee * told you) with 18000 men buſied in the Dutchie of *Wirtemburg*: which Countrey together with the Circles of *Swaben* and *Franconia*, he having conſtrained to renounce the concluſions of *Leipſich*, was at this inſtant ready to fall vpon the Landtgraue of *Heſſen* alſo. Now was the Generall *Tilly* throughly chafed; and ſeing he was not ſtrong enough of himſelfe to beate the King, he reſolv'd to be made ſtrong enough by *Furſtenberg* to beat ſome body.

Tilly counter-marches, and returnes into *Saxony*. * See Page 33

Furſtenberg was to come to him by the way of *Erdfurt*, & to meete him about *Mansfeldt*: whereabouts he after joyned with him *Aug.* 16, not that the two Armies vnited themſelues

ſelues into one body; for victuals were now ſo deare that *Tilly* would not ſuffer that, but, for that *Furſtenburg* was now at *Tillyes* devotion. Having thus made vp a compleat Armie of ſome 45000 men, of his owne *Wallons*, and old *Germane* Troupes, *Furſtenberg's*, *Italians*, and *Bavarians*, with other old Souldiers: they now cald themſelues *The invincible Army*; Now was the Generall *Tillyes* intention with thoſe mightie Forces, firſt of all to haue conſtrained the Duke of *Saxonie* to haue renounced the concluſions of *Leipſich*, and to haue made him reſigne over his own Army vnto him, with which being made vp aboue 60000 ſtrong; he was purpoſed at the Citie and Bridge of *Wittenberg* to haue paſſed the *Elbe*, and there to haue ſet vpon the King of *Sweden*, or haue fallen into *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg*, and *Pomerland* againe.

Furſtenberg being thus joyned, the Duke of *Saxonie* (now about *Torgau* with his Armie at which Towne there is a Bridge over the *Elbe*) is ſent vnto by *Tilly*, and invited into *Mersburg*; where a meeting was given him by the Lords *Mitternicht* and *Schomburg*, Ambaſſadors from the Emperor: together with *Bernard*, cheife Secretary vnto the Generall *Tilly*. The Ambaſſadors peremptorily in the Emperors name propound vnto the Duke, that his Majeſties great pleaſure and intention was, to annihilate and to breake *the Concluſions of Leipſich*: to commaund there ſhould no more Souldiers be levied by the Proteſtants: but that all their Troupes ſhould be caſt and licenced: and his *Imperiall* Mandate in all things obeyed, vpon their perills. There muſt be no nay, excuſe, nor delay in the Duke: and his finall reſolution muſt be had within a few dayes. The Duke deſires to conſult with his Counſell vpon it, and ſo takes his leaue of them. His returne not being ſpeedie enough, a Trumpet is ſent vnto him for his anſwer vnto theſe 4 Propoſitions, whieh we * before told you of: and then vpon the Dukes deniall before the Emperours Ambaſſador (whom he then diſmiſſes from his Court) the General *Tilly* not regarding that the Princes of both *Leagues* and *Religions*, were even now met at *Franckford* vpon *Main* for the compounding of differences concerning that which

bred

ſee Page 36. &c. where (by the way) there is a ſmal error of time; the Dukes anſwer being there ſaid to be in the beginning of September, whereas it was about the 24. of Auguſt.

bred rhe quarrell; the *Reformation*, and the *Church-Lands*: About *Aug.* 26. takes hee the Episcopall Town of *Mersburg* aforesaid, 3 leagues from *Leipsich*, belonging vnto the said Duke: fairely turning out the Garrison with bag and baggage; and an oath never to serue against the Emperor, and the *Catholicke* League againe. Betwixt this Towne and *Hall* some 2 or 3 leagues to the North of it, he now pitches his Army: thence sends he some to pillage the two other Bishopprickes of the Dukes *Naumburg*; vpon the same River of *Sala* with *Mersburg*, and *Zeitz* vpon *Elster*, the River of *Leipsich*, with other of his Townes and Mannors. *Aug.* 28. *Schomberg*, Generall of the Artillery, with the Commissary *Walmerode* come to the Citie of *Hall*; & within a day or two of that time, *Furstenberg* comes thither from *Eisleben*: advancing forwards to get the passage, (if it might be,) betwixt *Wittenberg* and *Saxony*: but that the Dukes going * to *Torgau* and *Dieben*, prevented. *Aug.* 29. Count *Tilly* sends to the Citie of *Leipsich* to demaund provisions for his Army. This denyed, vnlesse he brought their *Electors* consent; he the next day plunders all the Country for 3. leagues about, and comming by the way of *Ranstadt*, he on that side places his Guards before the very Ports, takes possession of the Suburbs, peremptorily demaunding their speedy and finall resolution. Their answere is, that their Duke having lately sent in six Companies of Foote, and the Lieutenant-Colonel *Pforten* to commaund in the Towne; seemd rather desirous to defend his owne, then to yeeld vnto any such violent motion. Hereupon, *Sept.* 3. *Tilly* with full 40000. men sets downe before the Towne; out-come the Deputies to demaund his reasons: They are threatned with fire and sword if they yeeld not. The Citizens resolue to stand to it; and the enemy makes his approaches. Some greater peices he mounts on that side towards *Pfaffendorff*, vpon the hill nere the *Euteritzch* Sconces: so to cut off all provisions from comming in. On Sunday *Sept.* 4. the Towne sets fire on their owne faire Suburbs, to prevent the enemies lodging in them: killing that day with a peice of Ordnance, one that stood hard besides

Tilly takes *Mersburg.*

Mersburg, *Naumburg* & *Zeitz* which were 3 appropriate Bishopprickes whose Temporalties the Duke held in his owne hands. By this it appeares that *Tilly* had private commission to take the Church-lands from *Saxonie* also: though it had not been discovered till now.

* Pag. 37.

Leipsich besieged.

beſides the Generall *Tilly*. He thus enraged, batters them with peices of full Canon, and ſhootes wild-fire and Granadoes in amongſt them. Next day he ſends in ſomething, more terrible then all the former : moſt thundering vowes and threats, from himſelfe and *Pappenheym*, to ſerve them like *Magdenburg*, if they preſently yeelded not. This quayld their courages, and brought them vnto a parlie. The conditions are ; Free exerciſe of Religion ; not to be drawne from their obedience to the Duke; nor to be overcharged with too great a Garriſon. The Governour *Pforten* with his men of warre, haue Souldiers conditions, and ſo the ſame munday the Towneſmen ſigning the Articles, the next morning they forſake the Towne. One company with the *Defenſiue Banner* of *Saxony* goes into the Fort of *Pleiſenburg*, (which Fort the next day alſo yeelded it ſelfe) and the other fiue, into *Eitenbergh*. One thing fell out ominouſly for Generall *Tilly*; that at his entring the Towne, he ſtayd to talke with the Deputies in the Town *Graue-makers* houſe neer the *Grimiſchen* port. This done, he out of the ſayd *Graue-makers* houſe now mounting vp on horſebacke, returnes into his Leaguer, becauſe he now heard the King of *Sweden* to haue paſſed the *Elve*, and the Duke of *Saxony* to be joyned with him.

Parlyes.

Yeeldes.

In the time of this ſiege, was the whole neighbour Country ravaged and plundered : the Souldiers, with licentiouſneſſe enough, there exerciſing their wonted crueltie & beaſtlineſſe. Now were *Pegaw*, *Lutzen*, *Luca*, *Weiſenfels* and other places ſpoyled. Here were the Ladies, Gentlewomen, and others, like beaſts and dogs yoked and coupled together, to be led into the Woods and raviſhed : who for reſiſting, had their cloaths ſtript off, their bodies whipt, their eares cut off, and ſo ſent home againe. Hereabouts gat they together betwixt three and foure thouſand head of Cattell : and what beaſt ſoever could not, or did not readily follow them, they either houghed, or killed; leaſt (as they ſaid) it ſhould ſerue ſome Hereticke.

(***)

THE

THE BATTELL OF *LEIPSICH.*

GEnerall *Tilly*, having now intelligence of the King of *Swedens* passing of the *Elve*, and of *Saxonyes* joyning with him: sends (as it is reported) a Letter by a Trumpet vnto the King, *To invite him, as he was a brave Cavalier, to giue him Battell.* This low terme of *Cavalier*, the Kings heroicall spirit taking disdainfully, stamps vpon the Letter; replying thus vnto the Trumpet; *What doth your Generall thinke mee worthy of no better a stile then of Cavalier? I am a King: and tell him, I shall well finde him out.* *Tilly* vpon receipt of this message, prepares his Army, as if to accept of a Victory, rather then to fight much for it: so confident they were of themselues, and so glad of the oportunitie. Proclamation is made, that vpon the hearing of certaine warning peices, every man should repayre to his Colours and to his order. Vpon the fatall seaventh of *September* therefore being Wednesday, he with 44000. braue men, in goodly order of battell first takes the field; which was vpon a fayre plaine or heath (about a mile from *Leipsich*) called *Gods Aker*: sayd to be the very same place, wher the Emperor *Charles* the 5 heretofore overthrew the Duke of *Saxony*. *Tilly* like a prudent Generall, being carefull for all advantages, had placed himselfe vpon a little hill thereabouts, (where the place of execution is,) having a wood also to hide his men, and for their retreate. The watchword for his Armie was * *Santta Maria:* the token to know one another by, was white strings or ribbands about their

Tilly invites the King to a pitcht field.

* The high Dutch relation sayes, *Mary the mother of God,*

armes, and in their helmets, as if they had beene *Diademes*, and that that day would haue made them all Kings.

The King moues towardes the field.

The King of *Sweden* having prepared his Army by prayers vnto God, and encouragements to his men the day before, vpon the ſame Wedneſday morning before day, he advances from *Dieben* towards the place of battell. His owne Troupes were ſome 18000: and the Duke of *Saxonie*, together with the Marquis of *Brandenburg* ſome 20000 or 22000. Two Regiments of *Saxonies*, I find not to haue beene this day in the field: the Foote-Regiment (namely) of the Count of *Solmes*, and *Hoſtkerks* Horſe-Regiment. The watch-word was *Godt mit Vns*, God with vs: their token, *greene branches* in their hats or helmets; with which ere night their browes were crowned, as if with *victorious Lawrell*. The King being come as farre as *Seehauſen* and *Podelwitz*, & now in ſight of the Enemie; behold an *Omen*, which a *Romane Augur* would haue eſteemed for a moſt fortunate abodement. Vpon the place of battell which the Enemie had left for the King, there ſate a flocke of birds, which being ſprung by the Kings comming, tooke their flight directly over *Tillyes* Armie; and fetching there a circle about, (and that alſo the *Romanes* would haue accounted an happy preſage) they turn'd againe towards the Kings Army: as who ſhould ſay, *Wee went to fetch you victory*. But the King had a better *Augury* on his ſide then a flight of birds, *God with vs*; and that which the *Romane* Generall ſometimes preferr'd before the birds: *Romano milite dignus, Enſis adeſt augur*; his valour, namely, and his ſword.

His ſtrength.

A good *Omen*.

The Armies meete.

Their order.

Being now ready to come vnto the Shocke; the Battels were thus ordered, *Tilly* made choice of the ancient order, to fight in great ſquare bodies, himſelfe leading now the right wing, the Duke of *Holſteyn* the left, and the Count of *Furſtenburg* the *Battaile*. The King dividing his men into many ſmaller bodies; takes the right wing to himſelfe, committing the left vnto the Duke of *Saxonie* and his men: the wings of either battaile, tooke vp two *Engliſh* miles in length. The wind was now at the Weſt; which *Tilly* had gotten of *Saxonie*: and was ſo deſirous afterwards to compaſſe from the King, that in wheeling about, he came within the commaund

of

of the Kings Ordnance, who alſo to ſaue the wind turned a little to the right hand. The fight was about 12 a clocke, firſt begun with their Canon, for that purpoſe placed before every diviſion. Their roare made the very earth to tremble, and men to groane their laſt; for two houres together: about which time, the Generall *Tilly* drawing out of the wood, paſſes by the Kings wing, (which had alſo gotten one end of the ſame wood) and ſet amaine vpon the Duke of *Saxonie*. Two charges the *Saxons* endured well enough: but the Enemie having direction to laye hardeſt vpon the Dukes owne Guards (amongſt whom himſelfe fought;) they not able longer to endure it, begin to giue ground a little. The reſt of the *Saxons* now perceiving their Duke, and braveſt men thus to retyre, thinke all loſt; and all in confuſion away they flie, leaving 3 Canons to the mercy of the Enemie; and pillaging their owne wagons by the way: that ſo they might at leaſt ſeeme to be Conquerors; in carrying home ſpoiles of the warres, though not of their Enemies. Yet all fled not; for the Lord *Arnheym* (Field-Marſhall to the Duke, and an old Souldier) together with Colonell *Bindauff*, * *Done*, and *Vitzthimb*, with their 4 Regiments, brauely yet ſtood vnto it. *Steinau*, a Colonell of Horſe, was with 4 Cornets taken priſoner by the Enemie; who at length perceiving the Kings partie to prevaile, brake through the Enemie, and aſſiſted his owne ſide. The *Imperialiſts* now ſeeing the *Saxons* flying, cry *Victoria, Victoria, follow, follow, follow*: but the old Lad their Generall quickly countermaunded that; ſaying, *Let them goe, wee ſhall overtake them time enough: but let vs beate the* Swede *too, and then all* Germany *is our owne*. In this medlie, *Furſtenberg* with his old Regiment of *Italian* Horſe, having charged quite thorow the *Saxons*, was now comming vpon the *Swedens* backe: which they perceiving, with ſuch reſolution ſecond his charge, and follow their owne, that they chaſe him almoſt an *Engliſh* mile from the place, ſo vtterly cutting off & diſperſing the whole Regiment, that they could not recover it all that battell: and here perchance himſelfe was ſlaine.

The fight begins with great Ordnance.

The Duke of *Saxonie* flees.

* Some write him *Taub*.

The Count of *Furſtenberg* defeated.

Slaine.

In this time, the Duke of *Holſteyn* with his left wing having

ving charged the King; was with ſuch reſolution and valour anſwered, that after 5 or 6 charges bewixt them, the Duke was mortally wounded, and taken priſoner; his whole Armie defeated, and 3 peices of Ordnance taken.

The Duke of *Holſteyn* defeated.

And ſlaine.

By this time the King having notice of the Duke of *Saxonies* leaving the field, and that *Tilly* was ready to charge his battaile: preſently drawes out 2000 commaunded Musket-tiers of the braue *Scottiſh* Nation led by Colonell *Havord*, they having ſome 2000 horſe vpon their flancks; to ſtaue off the enemie a while. The *Scots* ordering themſelues in ſeverall ſmall *battagliaes*, about 6 or 700 in a body, preſently now double their rankes, making their files then but 3 deepe (the diſcipline of the King of *Sweden* being, never to march aboue 6 deepe) this done, the formoſt rancke falling on their knees; the ſecond ſtooping forward; and the third rancke ſtanding right vp; and all giving fire together, they powred ſo much lead at one inſtant in amongſt the enemies horſe, that their rankes were much broken with it. This advantage the *Swediſh* Horſe (lined with Muskettiers) apprehending; reſolutely falling amongſt them vpon their Croopes, vtterly now diſperſe them. The foote perceiving their horſe (vpon whoſe braverie they ſo much depended) to be thus put to rowte, ſtand ſore amazed at that which they ſo little expected. And now the King with his Foote falling in vpon their *Van*, and with his Horſe vpon their flancks; after 4 houres hard fight, vtterly defeated them. In this hot ſervice was the Generall *Tilly* himſelfe much diſtreſſed, and ſome ſay priſoner a while (though vnknowne) vnto the Kings Armie: certaine it is, that he was twice or thrice wounded with piſtoll-ſhot, which the *Saxon* writers ſay, was done by their men: moſt affirme, that he was fetcht off by the valour of **Rodolp Maximilian* Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*, that day ſerving on the Emperors ſide, who fought like a lyon: with whom and two other horſemen, *Tilly* came, and conjoyned himſelfe vnto the valiant Baron of *Cronenberg*. This bold Baron and his Regiment ſerving in the right wing, had 4 times in thoſe 4 houres, charged the Kings Forces: and hee at laſt, when no more could be done, brauely carried away his Generall, in the midſt of his owne (now flying) Troupes. Thus,

The *Scots* of the Lord *Reayes* Regiments, as tis ſaid, firſt breake *Tillyes* rancks.

Tilly vtterly defeated and taken priſoner

Wounded.

* Brother to him that *Pappenheym* had before taken priſoner about *Magdenburgh*.

Tilly reſcued.

Thus, notwithſtanding that the left wings of both Armies had beene rowted and defeated, yet the right wings vnder their old and experienced Cheiftaines, ſtood ſtiffely & brauely to it, from 2 in the afternoone, till 6 at night: by which time, the *Imperialiſts* were quite defeated, and beaten out of the field, being miſerably ſlaine and trodden downe in the chace. Had the King had but 3 houres more of day light, ſcarcely had 1000 Enemies come off aliue: but the darkenes which was ſafeſt for them to flie, being not ſo for him to purſue; the joyfull retreate is ſounded, and the chace given over for that night. There were full 15000 of the Enemies ſlaine vpon the place of battell, or in the chace; the ſame night and the dayes following, as one of our *High-Dutch* Relations aſſures us: 14 peices of halfe * *Curtoes*, or *Demi-canons*: and 16 leſſer peices of 8 or 10 pound ball, taken. Some of them having the Armes of the Emperour, Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Wallenſteyn*: others thoſe of the *Palſ-graue*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, &c.

The Chaſe.

The *Dutch* word is, *Kartuen* whence ours. The bootie and loſſes.

The Enemies whole Leaguer neere vuto *Leipſich*, was taken full ſtanding; and in it 3000 Wagons, and all their baggage, Tents, and Pavilions: together with a great number of Cattell, oxen, ſheepe, Aſſes, poultry, bread & wine; much coſtly ſtuffe, with ſome gold and ſilver. Before the Leaguer, was there a great ſquare ſconce, w^ch^ the Defendants had forſaken.

And this was as compleate a victorie as poſſibly could bee gotten. Not ſtolen by night, which *Alexander* ſcorned: but atcheived by fine force in the broad day-light, betwixt 12 and 6 in the afternoone. No advantage of place to aſſiſt the King; twas vpon a faire levell, and *Campagnia*. No caſuall advantage, but was againſt him; the wind, the wood and higher ground; all poſſeſſed by the Enemie. No advantage in numbers, or reputation of men: *Tillyes* were the more; the older Souldiers, and their Armie was called *Invincible*. Nay, one diſadvantage had the King, as great as poſſibly could be; a maine fleſhing to the Enemy, a weakning of halfe his own Armie, and a diſcouragement to the reſt; by the early defeat of the Duke of *Saxonie*. So that all the advantages lay on the Enemies ſide, and the diſadvantages vpon the Kings. His

Majeſty loſt not aboue 1200 men in the whole fight, & the Duke of *Saxonie* not full 2000. Of cheife Cõmaunders on the Kings ſide, theſe ſlaine. Baron *Teuffell*, *Collenbach*, *Corwille*, *Hall*, *Adergaſt*, all Colonells: with divers Captaines and Lieutenants. On the Duke of *Saxonies* ſide theſe. *Coll* *Bindtauff*, *Starchedell*, Serjeant Major *Holbeirſdorff*, and *Lemminger*, both Lieutenants, Colonells: *Hans George* of *Humrott*, Generall *Adjutant*: *Gerſtorff*, *Musculus*, Count *Mansfield*, *Lubers*, *Lemminger*, *Carlowitz*, *Willenſtein*, *Rockonitz*, *Henneger*, Lord *Otto* of *Villaz*, all Captaines of Foote or Horſe, with Serjeant Major *Drandorff*: whereof ſome died the ſame day, and ſome the next.

Cheife men ſlaine on the Kings ſide.

* He is called *Bindtorp*, page 36.

On the Dukes.

Of *Tillyes* ſide ſlaine theſe following. Duke *Adolp* of *Holſteyn*; the Generall the Count of *Furſtenberg*; *Schomberg*, Generall of the Ordnance: *Erfft*, Serjeant Major Generall: *Baumgarten*, *Coloredo*, *Gallas*, *Wallenſteyn*, *Lebel*, and *Zabilli*, all Colonels; *Caratelle*, Lieutenant Colonell: together with the Lieutenant Colonels of the Regiments of *Saricour*, *Hartzfeldt*, and of the Duke of *Saxon Lawenberg*: with divers others whoſe dead and naked bodies were not knowne: beſides Captaines and Lieutenants both of horſe and foote, and many braue Cavaliers moe; which died either vpon the place, or in the Townes of *Delitz*, *Eylenberg*, and *Leipſich*, whither they had fled. Taken priſoners, the Generall Adjutant *Zinzendorff*, the *Imperiall* Commiſſaries Generall, *Walmerode*, and *Graff*: with *Coronino*, *Blankhard*, *Barcelli*, *Kratz*, *Hazelung*, *Larme*, *Klinzi*, and *Wincleman*, all Colonels: together with *Bernhard*, that was *Tillyes* Treaſurer and Secretarie; divers Captaines and ſome *Ieſuites*: who, no doubt, came thither to bleſſe the Armie. Divers *Proteſtants* were alſo taken, who betooke themſelues vnto his Majeſties ſervice. *Tillyes* manly heart (tis ſaid) could not refraine his teares, when he perceived his braue old Souldiers thus going to wracke. The whole fault he laid vpon his own Horſmen, who after a few hard charges, cowardly ran away, and never made head againe.

Of *Tillyes* ſide ſlaine.

Priſoners.

Tilly himſelfe thus wounded as he was, made ſhift to flie into *Hall* that night, 7 *Dutch* miles from the place of battell:

Tilly and *Papenheym* flee.

from

from whence in a *hackney Coach*, both hee and *Pappenheym*, fled the next day towards *Halberstadt*. Some 200 Muskettiers followed their Generall, & about 2000 Horse rallying themselues together, in all haste went also after him. Reported it was that *Tilly* should haue his wounds dressed by the Town-Barbar of *Hall*, who (it seemes) affirmed to the King, that *Tillyes* body was *hard-shot*, or *shot-free*: and that the bullets had not peirced the flesh, but made bruises rather in his arme, necke, and shoulder: and that to his horrible torment, he was faine to endure to haue the bruised flesh cut out to the very hard bone. Whether this were so or no, wee leaue vpon the Barbars credit: and becausse we haue not heard it seconded out of *Germanie*, we are loath to charge so braue a Warriour, with so base an imputation, as to owe his life vnto a* Charm; which is practised by none, but the reprobate raskalitie of the Armie. No man (since the King of *Portugall*) hath been so often kill'd and reviu'd by report, as *Tilly* hath beene: yea that side would haue him to bee yet aliue. Hee was said to speake of nothing but peace, and of making a good Peace, *which is indeed farre more happy then victorie*.

The Chase and slaughter being done, (which continued all the next day) the day after *Sept.* 9. went the King on to *Mersburg*, whence he ferretted out the *Imperialists* that had fled thither from the battell; 3000 whereof hee entertained into his own service: by which, & others of *Tillyes*, taken on before and after, he was made 7000 stronger then he was in the day of battell. *Sept.* 10. he besieged *Hall*, which the next day was yeelded vnto him. The Castle of *Morisberg* hee tooke in *Sept.* 12. where he made Sergeant Major *Groschen*, and Captaine *Wincleman* prisoners: whom he delivered to the Duke of *Saxonie*; redeeming Colonell *Vrseler*, with some others, that had beene taken prisoners at *Magdenburg*: taking the *Protestants* which lay in Garrison in it, into his owne service. From *Hall* his Majestie commaunded divers Regiments of Horse and Foote to goe towards *Halberstadt*, *Mansfeldt*, *Regenstein*, *Stolberg*, *Hohenstein*, *Magdenburg*, and *Brunswicke*, to scoure those Coasts of the *Imperialists*: who hearing of the *Swedens* comming, packt with all speed away towards the River *Weser*; after their Generall *Tilly*. And hereabouts (the Priests

* Most surely, such a practise there is; of which no souldier in *Germanie* makes doubt: The Charme which they weare makes their bodies *Gefrorn*, that is, frozen, and hard: If they shew it by day time, it looses its force. No bullet nor iron weapon can pierce them. 100. shots at least, haue bin made vpon one fellow, that braved the *English* at *Stoade*: his cloathes were shot to peices, and the waste-band of his breeches: which he taking vp, went his way. This hath beene an old practise of *Mithraes* souldiers, 2000. yeares agoe: who made themselues invulnerable both against weapons, frost and fire.

Priests & Monkes lately put in by the Emperors commissiō, now flying away) were the late-exiled Ministers, by the King restored vnto their Churches. Whilest the King was busie hereabouts; the Elector of *Saxonie* employes himselfe about the reducing of his owne Towne of *Leipsich*, and the Fort *Pleisenbergh* vnto his obedience. This Fort, had *Iohn Vopelius* (a *Saxon*) the Captaine of it, cowardly delivered vp vnto *Tilly*, before ever any force was offered to it; and that vpon the day of battell, so soone as he heard the fight begin. *Leipsich* being besieged by the Duke, vpon *Sept.* 12. in the evening come there 350 *Imperialists* out of the Fort aforesaid into the Citie: *Sept.* 13. before noone, Colonell *Wangler* left Governour in the Towne by *Tilly*, parlies, and yeelds: whereupon 3000 souldiers (almost) are suffred to depart. The conditions were to haue 18 wagons of bag and baggage; 10 red Ensignes furled, (not displayed or flying) swords by their sides onely, and without sound of drumme. Some of these forthwith betooke themselues vnto the Dukes service: and whereas after the fight some had gotten themselues into the Town, more then were by agreement to come in when the Towne was first yeelded vnto *Tilly*; these the Duke layes hold of, and retaines as prisoners. Among these, was *Coronino*, and Count *Walmerod* the Commissary, & *Zintzendorff*, (all afore mentioned) with some *Iesuites*. The rest were to be conducted into *Bohemia*: where the Boores were ready, with club-law to entertaine them.

Leipsich taken againe.

Whilest this is done, the other 2 *Imperial* Generals *Altringer* and *Fugger*, who were with 6000 men come as farre as *Erdfurt* to haue joyned with *Tilly*; hearing of his defeate, runne about the *Duringer* forrest like mice whose holes were stopt: retiring now with all speed: and seeking by some other way to conjoyne themselues with him. And now no enemie being neere; the King of *Sweden* sends for the Duke of *Saxonie*, & other the great Commaunders of his Army, to come to *Hall* vnto him. A Councell of warre is there held, which way to keepe the enemie from gathering head againe; and how to pursue the victorie: the second part of a Conqueror being, *to know as well how to vse his victorie, as how to winne it*. And at this consultation we leaue them, much about *Michaelmas*.

Altringer and *Fugger* retire.

The King cals a Councell of warre.

FINIS.

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